

G8 and Africa Interim Report: An Overview of the G8's Ongoing Relationship with African Development from the 2001 Genoa Summit to the 2005 Gleneagles Summit

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Table of Contents

Preface.....	1
Executive Summary.....	2
Introduction.....	4
The Commission for Africa.....	7
Good Governance.....	10
African Peer Review Mechanism.....	14
Official Development Assistance.....	17
Debt Relief: HIPC Initiative.....	21
Free Trade.....	24
Agricultural Subsidies.....	28
Environment: Famine and Food Security.....	31
Environment: Water.....	35
Health in Africa: HIV/AIDS.....	39
Health in Africa: Tuberculosis, Polio and Malaria.....	45
Conflict Prevention in Africa.....	50
Peacekeeping in Africa.....	54
Humanitarian and Security Crisis in Sudan.....	57
Conclusion.....	60
Sponsors.....	62

Preface

The G8 Research Group 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 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 as well as makes available official documents issued by the G8.

This report was compiled by the Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue (CD-ED) Unit of the G8 Research Group under the leadership of Vanessa Corlazzoli and Janel Smith. The CD-ED Unit conducts research and analysis on the G8's ongoing relationship with major external stakeholders, namely Africa, prospective new G8 member states (China, India, Brazil, Mexico, etc.) and with civil society and non-governmental organizations. In addition to this report on the G8 & Africa, the CD-ED Unit also plans to release reports on the G8 & Climate Change and the G8 & Major Developing States prior to the G8 Summit in July.

The bulk of the research in this report was conducted in January 2005, with an update to include the final report released by the Commission for Africa in March 2005.

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 18 issue areas in the interim year between summits. These parallel reports contain further analysis on issues pertaining to the African continent as well as other issue areas of G8 activity defined more broadly. The G8RG Analysis Unit also releases a pre-summit report detailing perspectives for the upcoming leaders' meeting according to country and issue area — with the latter featuring numerous themes related to Africa. These are available under “Analytical and Compliance Studies” at www.g8.utoronto.ca.

The G8 Research Group welcomes responses to this report. Any comments or questions should be directed to g8@utoronto.ca. Indeed, we are grateful to the many individuals from many communities who responded to our invitation to comment on an earlier draft of this report. Responsibility for its contents lies exclusively with the authors and analysts of the G8 Research Group.

Executive Summary

In 2005, African development will come to the top of the international policy agenda. In addition to the United Nations summit to review its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in September, the United Kingdom has made Africa (along with climate change) the centrepiece of its agenda as it assumes the presidency of the G8 in January 2005 and the semi-annual presidency of the European Council in July 2005. To aid this policy package, UK prime minister Tony Blair convened the Commission for Africa to identify the primary issues plaguing African development and to develop bold recommendations for how the G8, the European Union and African states could remedy them. In March 2005, the Commission for Africa released its final report, *Our Common Interest*, recommending sweeping policy changes for the G8 including an increase in foreign aid by US\$25 billion per year by 2010 and another US\$25 billion per year by 2015.

The question remains, however, whether the political desire and financial capacity exist among the wealthy states to translate the bold words of the Commission into the bold action by the G8. It is the assertion of the *G8 and Africa Interim Report* that future actions are best predicted by past actions. As such, this report situates itself as a compendium to the Commission for Africa, detailing what the G8 has done for Africa in the past four years just as it begins to debate what it should do in the coming decade. This report examines the relationship between Africa and the G8 across 13 issue areas beginning with the G8 Genoa Summit in June 2001 and concluding with the ascension of the UK to the G8 presidency in January 2005. In particular, it follows progress made on the Africa Action Plan (AAP), a comprehensive initiative agreed to by the G8 at its 2002 Kananaskis Summit to promote economic and human development of the continent. In many respects, the AAP is the forerunner of the plan to be agreed upon by the G8 at its 2005 Gleneagles Summit and is the best benchmark by which to gauge the capacity and consistency of the G8 with the African development portfolio.

Overall, this report concludes that the G8 has exhibited an engaged yet uneven record of adherence to its commitments regarding Africa since the 2001 Genoa Summit. Issue areas that garner the largest degree to attention from the G8 are those that require little coordination among G8 states, involve little obligation beyond the commitment of funds and produce ends that are both easily quantifiable and media-friendly. As such, the G8 has delivered an excellent record on debt relief (with its Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative) and the bilateral funding of the Global Polio Eradication Campaign and African peace training centres. To a lesser extent, the commitment of the UK, France and, more loosely, Canada, to raise their foreign aid to 0.7% of gross domestic product (GDP) also moves official direct assistance (ODA) into this category. The noted exception to this trend is funding for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, which, despite being similar in nature to other issue areas in this category, nonetheless demands such high levels of funding from G8 member states as to foster non-compliance.

The G8, however, registers far more poor levels of performance on a broad range of issue areas that demand a much different form of engagement from the institution. Namely, these are commitments that require a large degree of long-term policy-coordination and collective action of the part of the G8 states. As a loosely affiliated organization that does not host a secretariat, the G8 is not well suited to these tasks. This partly explains why large-scale G8 strategies on

water and famine and food security, and even the development of the African Peace Keeping Force have been attracted little attention from G8 member states, let alone funds.

The G8 also performs poorly on two other forms of issue areas: those that lack clear quantifiable policy outcomes and those that conflict with the G8 member states' national interests. In terms of the former, good governance and the African peer review process are both critical portfolios in African development that, due to their open-ended nature and lack of clear, measurable policy benefits, attract only moderate G8 attention. In terms of the latter, the elimination of trade barriers and agricultural subsidies that punish producers in the developing world has been a long-trumpeted promise of the G8 that has yet to come to fruition. In this case, farm lobbies in the EU and U.S. have made it clear that national interest trumps G8 commitments and it is uncertain if this formula will shift before Gleneagles. Similarly, Russian national interests in the Sudanese energy sector have blocked major G8 action on commitments concerning the Darfur conflict.

As demonstrated by this report, the success of the G8 in following through on its African commitments depends principally on the nature and type of commitment called for, as much as it does on the will of the leaders to implement it. The fact the Commission for Africa has called for bilateral increases in foreign aid and targeted spending on healthcare and debt relief within a strict schedule for adherence places these commitments in line with those the G8 has demonstrated the best record for delivering on. Nevertheless, the Commission also proposes the drastic reductions in G8 agricultural subsidies through the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the negotiation of an international arms trade treaty. These are both commitments that involve long-term coordination, collective action and impacts on national interests, rendering them less attractive to G8 leaders when they leave Gleneagles and return home to implement their promises.

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Introduction

In 2005 the development of Africa will come to forefront of the international policy agenda as wealthy nations begin discussions on a strategy for generating economic growth and poverty reduction in that poorest of continents. 2005 will provide ample impetus for this renewed focus with the United Nations convening its first summit to review progress on the Millennium Development Goals in September. This year also marks the 20th anniversary of the Live Aid Concert for Africa, and the 25th anniversary of the Brandt Institute's seminal report *North-South*. To take advantage of this momentum, Prime Minister Tony Blair has chosen to make African Development (and Climate Change) the centre-piece of the UK agenda when it assumes the annual Presidency of the G8 on 1 January 2005 and the semi-annual Presidency of European Council on 1 July.

To identify the key crisis issues impeding Africa's development and to develop practical proposals for how the G8, EU and African states can remedy them, PM Blair convened the Commission for Africa. The Commission brought together experts from government, business and civil society to examine the pitfalls and promises of African development over a period of a year before releasing its final report on 11 March 2005. The report *Our Common Interest* (see page 7) outlines a bold strategy for a renewed commitment on the part of wealthy states to the African continent involving massive increases in international aid levels and the restructuring of trade and debt regimes. While Blair says this document will form the basis of negotiations at the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland in July, it is uncertain if the G8 is ready for such radical and long-term action. Will the rhetoric of the report be translated into applicable policy or will it remain simply that, rhetoric? Will the G8 make sweeping pledges on which they then fail to follow through or retreat? Will Africa really be given a fresh chance at development or just more empty promises?

It is the opinion of this report that the best way to predict the future actions of the G8 is to examine their past behaviour. The following report provides an overview of the Group of Eight's involvement in Africa, particularly since 2001 and the 2002 Kananaskis Summit that resulted in the creation of a formal set of commitments specific to Africa: the Africa Action Plan (AAP). It is intended to provide the reader with a sufficient background of the relationship between the G8 and Africa as the two prepare to redefine their relationship at the Gleneagles Summit in July. It aims to highlight some of the major achievements and shortcomings of the G8 commitments toward Africa thus far and to allow for an understanding of the issues that will prove crucial at the upcoming summit.

While the twelve issue areas examined in this report are by no means an exhaustive list of all of the issues covered under the AAP, they do represent a set of priority commitments that are considered to be most salient and to have attracted the lion's share of attention from the G8, African governments and civil society actors. Their selection was made after due consideration and was based upon a number of specific factors including: the issue's consistent appearance on the agenda of the G8 at previous summits, its inclusion among the factors influencing the

developmental needs of Africa as listed by UK Prime Minister and 2005 G8 Chair Tony Blair¹ and, lastly, the fact that each issue was directly related to at least one of the six ‘thematic areas’ of study of the Commission for Africa.² The report provides a historical and analytical outline of twelve major issue areas of G8 focus regarding Africa. Even though commitments have been made by the G8 in other areas pertaining to Africa, it is these twelve that continue to remain at the forefront of the G8’s African initiatives and, moreover, are of paramount importance to the sustainable development of the continent.

While certain initiatives, such as the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (established in 1996), were adopted by the G8 prior to the new millennium, it was in 2001 that the G8’s focus on the myriad of difficulties facing the African continent began to increase. In 2001, five African leaders invited to attend the G8 summit in Genoa unveiled the “New Partnership for Africa’s Development” (NEPAD), which they claimed was “anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world.”³

In response, at the Kananaskis Summit in 2002, the G8 created its own action plan: the AAP. Its aim was to establish “a new partnership between the countries of Africa and our own, based on mutual responsibility and respect.”⁴ The ambitious plan focused on how G8 member states could collectively and individually aid Africa in areas of trade, development, governance, health, and conflict management.⁵ Following this, the G8 also committed to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, in conjunction with the UN Secretary-General, and pledged US\$1.3 billion towards the cause.⁶ Individually, states have also adopted various plans to aid Africa.

Despite the increased acknowledgment by G8 member states of the seriousness of the challenges facing Africa and their heightened willingness to collaborate with African countries on ways of meeting these challenges, the G8’s efforts have often been criticized and controversial. This is because of the vagueness of G8 commitments regarding Africa, which are berated for giving little direction on how to practically implement policy changes in and outside of the continent. Nevertheless, as is evident in the following report, the G8’s increased focus on Africa is a positive development in G8 policy-making, and the increased dialogue between the G8 and African leaders will likely help Africa in many of the twelve major areas.

¹ “Prime Minister’s Speech on Africa,” 2005 8 Gleneagles Summit Official Website (London) 7 October 2004. Date of Access: 19 March 2005 <www.g8.gov.uk>.

² The themes are Culture and Participation, Economy, Governance, Human Development, Natural Resources, and Peace and Security. In addition, another three cross-cutting issues were identified: HIV/AIDS, Migration, and Gender and Youth. See: “About the Commission: Themes,” Commission for Africa Official Website (London) 11 March 2005. Date of Access: 19 March 2005 <213.225.140.43/english/about/themes-summary.html>.

³ “NEPAD Framework Document,” NEPAD, October 2001. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <www.nepad.org/documents/nepad_english_version.pdf>

⁴ “G8 Africa Action Plan,” Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ “2001 Genoa Compliance Report: Fighting the Spread of HIV/AIDS and other Infectious Diseases,” G8 Research Group, University of Toronto. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2002compliance/2002reportCompDiseases.pdf>.

While at the 2004 Sea Island Summit, Africa was largely overshadowed by discussion of the Middle East, and Iraq in particular, at the upcoming G8 Summit Blair has promised to make Africa one of his two primary foci.⁷ The report of the Commission for Africa is an important beginning to renewing and expanding the commitment made at Genoa in 2001 but whether it will be followed through is yet to see. The following report is intended to provide the reader with an assessment of the G8's consistency and capacity in implementing its last grand partnership with African states. While it is acknowledged that there are considerable differences in context and conditions since when the G8 released the Africa Action Plan in 2002 and when the G8 sit down in July, the presumption is, of course, that past actions reflect future behaviour. The AAP is a good place to begin to examine where the G8 has been most effective in aiding African development, when it has failed to follow through, and what the likelihood is for it to be more committed and concerned after Gleneagles. This report aims to do exactly that.

The content of this report is accurate as of 15 January 2005 with more recent information related to the Commission for Africa accurate as of 15 March 2005. A final version of this report, including updated information on the actions of G8 member states vis-à-vis Africa as of 1 June 2005, will be released two weeks prior to the July G8 Summit. It can be retrieved from our website at <www.g8.utoronto.ca>.

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⁷ "Welcome from the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Tony Blair MP," G8 Gleneagles 2005 Official Website. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.g8.gov.uk>.

The Commission for Africa

Launched in London by UK Prime Minister Tony Blair on February 2004, the Commission for Africa was to serve as a pre-cursor to the UK's G8 Presidency which began nearly a year later. The Commission was convened in response to the United Kingdom's concerted policy push to place African Development at the forefront of the international agenda (along with Climate Change) as it assumed the Presidency of not only the G8 in 2005, but also that of the European Council in the latter-half of this year. To add to the momentum generated by London, 2005 will also see the United Nations convene its first major summit to review progress made on the UN Millennium Development Goals — of which Africa is a principal focus — and mark the 20th anniversary of the landmark Live Aid Concert for Africa. Such a renewed focus could not come at a more auspicious time for the African continent which saw its best economic performance in eight years in 2004 with a GDP growth rate of over 5 percent, the inflation rate at the lowest in over two decades and many countries enjoying favorable external accounts as a result of higher commodity prices.⁸ The Commission's 17 members were tapped with a mandate to develop a practical set of recommendations for how the G8, EU and other wealthy states could pair with their African counterparts to foster long-term development and poverty-reduction on the continent. The body sat for three sessions, on 4 May 2004 (London), 7-8 October 2004 (Addis Ababa), and 24 February 2005 (London), and engaged in an extensive consultation programme with stakeholders such as the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for African Development (NePAD). On 11 March 2005, the Commission for Africa released its Final Report, the recommendations from which will form the core of the G8's Plan of Action to be agreed to at the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland on 6-9 July 2005.

Mandate of the Commission for Africa

The mandate for the Commission was always both an immediate and practical one: to present a set of impartial and informed policy recommendations to the G8 identifying the critical crisis points in African development, and proposing realistic steps for G8 and African states to adopt in addressing them. Within this framework, however, there was considerable flexibility, with the Commission itself largely interpreting what this mandate would entail. At its first meeting on 4 May 2004 in London, the commissioners came to a consensus on five main objectives for the Commission for Africa listed below:

1. To generate new ideas and action for a strong and prosperous Africa, using the 2005 British presidencies of the G8 and the European Union as a platform;
2. To support the best of existing work on Africa, in particular the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Union, and help ensure this work achieves its goals;
3. To help deliver implementation of existing international commitments towards Africa;
4. To offer a fresh and positive perspective for Africa and its diverse culture in the 21st century, which challenges unfair perceptions and helps deliver changes; and
5. To understand and help fulfill African aspirations for the future by listening to Africans

⁸ "ADB President Welcomes Report of the Commission for Africa, Stressing Its Visionary And Practical Recommendations," AllAfrica.com (Johannesburg) 18 March 2005. Date of Access 19 March 2005 <allafrica.com/stories/200503180761.html>.

In addition, they agreed to organize around, and approach, these objectives through six main themes that encompassed African Development: Culture and Participation, Economy, Governance, Human Development, Natural Resources, and Peace and Security. In addition, another three cross-cutting issues were identified: HIV/AIDS, Migration, and Gender and Youth.

Composition of the Commission

The Commission for Africa is comprised of 17 commissioners selected by UK Prime Minister Blair. They were drawn from a wide-variety of backgrounds, including primarily the governmental, private and civil society sectors, with the majority of the commissions being Africans themselves. While the Commission does boast top politicians from countries such as the UK, Canada, South Africa and Tanzania, all commissioners participated in the Commission in a personal capacity and were not official representatives of their own states.

- Rt. Hon. Tony Blair, Prime Minister, United Kingdom (Chair)
- Fola Adeola, Chairman of FATE Foundation, Nigeria
- K. Y. Amoako, Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa, United Nations Under-Secretary-General, Ghana
- Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum Baker, United States
- Rt. Hon. Hilary Benn MP, Secretary of State for International Development, United Kingdom
- Rt. Hon. Gordon Brown MP, Chancellor of the Exchequer, United Kingdom
- Michel Camdessus, Africa Personal Representative, France
- Bob Geldof, Musician and founder of Live Aid, Ireland
- Hon Ralph Goodale P.C., MP, Minister of Finance, Canada
- Ji Peiding, NPC Standing Committee Member and Vice Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, China
- Dr. William S. Kalema, Chairman of the Board of the Uganda Investment Authority
- Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, South Africa
- His Excellency Mr. Benjamin William Mkapa, President of the United Republic of Tanzania
- Linah K Mohohlo, Governor, Bank of Botswana
- Tidjane Thiam, Group Strategy and Development Director Aviva PLC, Côte D'Ivoire
- Dr. Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka, Under-Secretary-General & Executive Director of UN HABITAT, Tanzania
- Meles Zenawi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia

Final Report and Recommendations

On 11 March 2005, the Commission for Africa released its Final Report in London entitled *Our Common Interest*. The Report is divided into two main sections. The first of these lays out the principled argument for why African Development is both an immediate and worthy cause for wealthy nations to respond to, and invest in. Secondly, the Report details its recommendations for how sustainable development and poverty-reduction can be fostered on the African continent, followed by lengthy-issue area specific discussions of why and how these can be realized. The major recommendations of the Commission for Africa Report are as follows:

- A US\$25-billion increase in international aid flows to Africa by donor governments by 2010 and another US\$25-billion per annum by 2015.

- The raising of a further US\$25-billion in development funds within Africa itself.
- The commencement of the negotiations on an International Arms Trade Treaty under the auspices of the UN by 2006.
- A renewed focus on conflict prevention and management within Africa by aid donors with a commitment by wealthy governments to fund 50% of the AU's Peace Fund from 2005 onwards.
- An US\$10-billion increase per year in international funding for the prevention, treatment and caring for people with, HIV/AIDS and the harmonization of wealthy countries HIV/AIDS development policies by end of 2005. This will be matched by a commitment by African states to spend 15% of their national budget on healthcare.
- Proposal to change WTO and bilateral trade regimes to allow for increase market access for African nations in industrialized markets, and to foster greater amounts of intra-Africa trade.
- Proposal to cancel 100% of the debt of sub-Saharan African states.

These recommendations are far from novel and have been featured pervasively in similar reports on African Development. Nevertheless, what makes the Commission for Africa Report's so promising is that these recommendations, for the first time, are being made by government officials in the G8/EU and Africa who wield both the means and the finances to see them through. In addition, the fact that the bold recommendations of the Commission will form the basis of G8 discussions on African Development at Gleneagles also increases the likelihood the Report will not end up on the shelf like so many of its counterparts. To date the report has been widely praised by government officials in the G8, EU, and Africa as well as receiving a warm response from many still-skeptical civil society actors. The real challenge now remains to convince wealthy nations to turn the recommendations of the report into their official government policies — a task which will fall to UK PM Tony Blair as he takes the helm of the G8 and the EU in 2005.

Further Information

For more information on the Commission for Africa, please visit their website (available in both English and French) at <www.commissionforafrica.org>.

The full text of *Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa* is available in English at the G8 Information Centre at <www.g8.utoronto.ca/meetings-official.html#cfa>. The executive summary and first part are also available in French.

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Good Governance

As a central component of both the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the Africa Action Plan (AAP), good governance has been part a formal part of the G8 agenda since the Kananaskis Summit in 2002. The interest of the G8 leaders in supporting the efforts of African leadership to promote and improve transparency, accountability, the rule of law and human rights on the continent extends from one of the G8's first principles, to encourage the global spread of democracy. The G8 agrees with NEPAD's assertion that the features of good governance, including the improvement of administrative and civil services, the strengthening of parliamentary oversight, the promotion of participatory decision making, and judicial reform, are fundamental to other aspects of Africa's development. The G8 leaders clearly stated at Kananaskis that good governance is indeed a pre-requisite to the dual challenge of conflict prevention and promotion of sustainable economic development — two of Africa's greatest challenges.⁹

Despite an assured commitment to the issue, G8 follow through in the area of good governance has mainly taken the form of vague verbal references in discussions on the overall package of commitments to Africa. Since the 2003 Summit in Evian, concrete discussion and action has been limited. In fact, good governance properly defined has not appeared on the summit agenda since Kananaskis; though issues of corruption, transparency and human rights related to good governance have appeared under other related themes.

Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights

Nonetheless, some initiatives are under way. For one, G8 countries including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) have donated significantly to the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Ghana, which opened its doors on January 24, 2004.¹⁰ G8 members have also been involved in helping to negotiate peace settlements in places such as Sierra Leone, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sudan.

The European Union (EU) supports African governance mainly through its initiative, European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), which funds projects related to democracy and human rights in the developing world. The EIDHR recently released a draft of its *Handbook on Promoting Good Governance in EC Development and Co-operation* which aims to show how good governance can be promoted through all EC actions in Africa.¹¹

⁹ "2002 Kananaskis Compliance Report, Africa: Good Governance. Compliance Report," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto. January 2003. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2003compliance/Compliance%202002%20Africa.pdf>.

¹⁰ "Donors to the KAIPTC," Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, 10 May 2004. Date of Access: 15 May 2004. <www.kaiptc.org/kaiptc/donors.htm>.

¹¹ "Handbook on Promoting Good Governance in EC Development and Co-operation. Draft," European Commission (Brussels), 3 December 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/pdf/themes-gg-handbook_en.pdf>.

Additionally, Germany has directed a significant amount of its international development assistance towards good governance initiatives and has cited human rights, democracy and freedom as one of its top priorities in the region. The German government has funded projects related to governance as well as various German political parties operating in Africa by way of direct governmental assistance. Italy has also invested money in projects related to good governance, for example, by funding the triennial Conference of the Chairmen of African Parliaments, the first of which took place in Rome in May 2003.¹²

France has also expressed interest in allocating some of its development assistance toward issues of governance, including the promotion of democracy and judicial reform. Japan's contributions are similar, taking the form of development assistance directed towards democratization, human rights and freedoms. Japan's Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD III) had a strong mandate based on establishing peace in the region.¹³

At the 2002 Kananaskis Summit, the Canadian government launched the CAD\$500 million Canada Fund for Africa (CFA) in an effort to complement development initiatives for Africa expected to total more than CAD\$6 billion over the next few years.¹⁴ Fifteen percent of this funding is directed toward one of the fund's chief initiatives: Governance, Peace, and Security.¹⁵ Included in this programme are specific initiatives such as the Africa-Canada Parliamentary Strengthening Programme and the Africa Local Governance Program.

Political Reform

The CFA has also initiated skills and knowledge transfers between Africans and Canadians in the areas of public sector reform and decentralization. The CAD\$9 million Parliamentary Strengthening program works with African legislatures and public policy organizations in African countries committed to political reform.¹⁶ The program held two consultations this year, which involved over twenty African parliamentarians and representatives from civil society groups.¹⁷

The United Kingdom's contributions to good governance have mainly taken the form of international development assistance directed towards governance strengthening bodies. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) has given financial support to regional institutions on the continent such as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) who assess

¹² "Freedom, Prosperity and Security. The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island and Beyond," Council on Foreign Relations, May 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/cfr0405.pdf>.

¹³ "Highlights of the Summary by the Chair of TICAD III Highlights of the Summary by the Chair of TICAD III," The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, October 2003. Date of Access: 17 May 2004. <www.mofa.go.jp/region/africa/ticad3/chair-2.html>.

¹⁴ "Freedom, Prosperity and Security. The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island and Beyond," Council on Foreign Relations, May 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/cfr0405.pdf>.

¹⁵ "Canada Fund For Africa," Canadian International Development Agency (Ottawa), 22 October 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/canadafundforafrica>.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the status of governance in African countries.¹⁸ The ECA provides significant technical and analytical support to the NEPAD process and publishes the *Africa Governance Report*.

Corruption

The UK also funds initiatives aimed at fighting corruption in countries such as Sierra Leone, Malawi, Uganda, Nigeria, Zambia, and Mozambique.¹⁹ Similarly, the United States through the US Agency for International Development (USAID) has launched the US\$36 million Africa Anti-Corruption Initiative. Its aim is to reduce corruption in sub-Saharan Africa by improving public access to information, civic participation, transparent government procedures and public-private dialogue among other things.²⁰ The assumption of the initiatives is that anti-corruption campaigns will lead to general improvement of governance in the area.

Conclusion

The apparent recent dwindling of G8 interest on the issue of good governance can be partially attributed to a growing awareness of other issues that plague Africa such as AIDS, terrorism, and poverty. Commitment to these issues has to some degree eclipsed ‘background’ concerns such as democracy and good governance. This is not entirely misguided as there has been a general improvement in the quality of governance in Africa over the last two or three years.²¹ Still, there is plenty of room for improvement in the quality of governance in many African states. In addition to war torn countries like Sudan, Cote D’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi, many peaceful countries are trapped under corrupt leadership, single party systems, and dictatorial law. Zimbabwe in particular²², northern Uganda²³ and others are in need of significant political reform. Furthermore, countries such as Liberia, Angola, Rwanda and Nigeria flounder in a state of political transition and require ongoing financial and technical support in order to become a sustainable democracy.²⁴

Good governance in Africa properly stated should continue to appear on the agenda of the G8 so that clear and concrete commitments can be made. One suggestion might be for the G8 countries to channel bilateral and multilateral support through African organizations such as the African Capacity-Building Foundation and the African Development Forum, in addition to the ECA.²⁵ Until more attention is given to issues of governance, other aspects of the Africa Action Plan, which depend on a strong presence of democracy and transparency, can also be expected to receive inadequate support and fall short of achieving desired outcomes.

¹⁸ “Freedom, Prosperity and Security. The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island and Beyond.”

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰ “USAID: Africa: Anti-Corruption,” USAID. Date of Access: 7 January 2005 <www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/initiatives/anti_corruption.html>.

²¹ Christian Science Monitor. “What’s Still Ailing Africa,” Zenit News Agency Italy, 5 June 2004.

²² “South Africa Risk: Political Stability Risk,” Economist Intelligence Unit, Riskwire, 12 November 2004.

²³ “USAID Africa: Democracy and Governance in Uganda,” USAID, 5 August 2004. Date of Access: 11 January 2005. <www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/regions/afr/uganda.html>.

²⁴ “USAID: Democracy and Governance in Africa,” USAID, 5 August 2005. Date of Access: 11 January 2005. <www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/regions/afr/>.

²⁵ “Freedom, Prosperity and Security. The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island and Beyond,” Council on Foreign Relations, May 2004. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/cfr0405.pdf>.

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African Peer Review Mechanism

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is one of the key pillars of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The G8 countries acknowledged its support for the implementation of the APRM in the African Action Plan (AAP) at the Kananaskis Summit in 2002. The APRM is a voluntary mechanism, where participant countries open their financial, social, and political records to a Country Review Team. This team is intended to assess the progress and encourage reform in the areas of sustainable democracy and good governance.²⁶ Ultimately, the purpose of this review is to provide a framework that will lead towards the achievement of political stability, high economic growth, and sustainable development across the continent.²⁷ It is also hoped that the peer review will lead to the dissemination of information and policies between African policy makers.²⁸

Funding

The G8 countries, as a group, have not pledged to fund the APRM process. However, Canada has contributed CAD\$700,000 to the APRM.²⁹ ³⁰ Germany has instead opted to fund NEPAD, the organization that is coordinating the process, thus indirectly contributing to the review mechanism.³¹

Each African country that volunteers for the program is expected to contribute US\$100,000. In addition, they are encouraged to seek funding from international donors in order to address specific issues relating to good governance and to fund their own National Programme of Action.³² Ghana has been successful in acquiring funding from Britain to pay for all the Ghanaian experts involved in the peer review process, as well as the distribution of information to regional and international partners that is acquired from the review.³³

The rest of the G8 countries have not provided capital funds for the APRM.³⁴ However, funding could have been provided indirectly, as multilateral organizations such as the UNDP- Africa

²⁶ "The African Peer Review Mechanism," NEPAD, 16 September 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.nepad.org/documents/49.pdf>.

²⁷ *Ibid.* and "38th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU: African Peer Review Mechanism, 8 July, 2002 Durban, South Africa AHG/235 (XXXVIII) Annex II," Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.au2002.gov.za/docs/summit_council/aprm.htm>.

²⁸ "AU- EU Experts Meeting: Africa's Position on Governance," African Union News, 9 December 2004.

²⁹ "Canada helps Africans strengthen governance," Canadian International Development Agency, News Release, October 2, 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

³⁰ "Frequently Asked Questions," Canada Fund for Africa, Canadian International Development Agency, 12 August 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

³¹ "Summary of the main elements of the G8 Africa Action Plan," Auswärtiges Amt, Germany. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/aussenpolitik/regionalkonzepte/afrika/elemente_html>.

³² "Guidelines for Countries to Prepare for and to participate in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)," NEPAD, December 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.nepad.org/documents/143.pdf>.

³³ "UK and Ghana continue to work closely," 10 Downing Street, 26 April 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page5705.asp>..

³⁴ No specific information was found for the United States, France, Italy, Russia or Japan. In NEPAD's Annual Report 2003/2004, of the G8 countries, only Canada and Germany are listed as financial contributors. "Annual

Bureau and the *Agence de la Francophonie* have been involved in providing technical assistance, building capacity, and funding the review.³⁵ Regardless, the African Union has called to the European Union “to intensify its commitment for sufficient resources to this programme.”³⁶

Encouraging Peer Review Partnerships

What the G8 Africa Action Plan does commit the G8 countries to, is to encourage the cooperation and sharing of information between the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and regional organizations, such as NEPAD.³⁷ This partnership is encouraged due to the expertise of the OECD in conducting country peer reviews. Thus far, it has been able to help NEPAD, by providing access to its peer review methods and increasing the technical and human capacity of those involved in the APRM.³⁸ The OECD has also been in discussion with the ECA, and has met with the NEPAD Secretariat, APRM Secretariat, and the APRM Panel.³⁹ At the Africa Partnership Forum and the Regional Workshop in Kenya representatives from the OECD were also present.⁴⁰

While cooperation between the OECD, ECA, and NEPAD is evident, it is difficult to access what each G8 country has specifically contributed to this partnership.⁴¹ Similarly, at the Evian Summit in 2003, the G8 countries further encouraged African participation in the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) peer review process.⁴² Thus far, however, only Canada has invited members of the ECA to join its DAC review process.⁴³

Conclusion

In the past, members of the African Union, academics, and civil society have heavily criticized the APRM. After three years, the APRM has been a slow process that has produced relatively few quantified results. Civil society has complained that while they have been engaged in some

Report 2003/2004,” NEPAD. Posted 16 November 2004. Date of Access: 15 January 2005.

<www.nepad.org/documents/165.pdf>.

³⁵ “The fifth meeting of the APRM panel Communiqué Issued At The Fifth Meeting of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel) Held at the Sun Intercontinental Hotel, Johannesburg, South Africa 29th -30th April 2004,” NEPAD. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.nepad.org/documents/147.pdf>.

³⁶ “AU- EU Experts Meeting: Africa’s Position on Governance,” African Union News, 9 December 2004.

³⁷ “G8 Africa Action Plan,” Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 15 January 2005.

<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

³⁸ “The OECD and NEPAD,” OECD, 29 April 2004. Date of Access: 15 January 2005.

<www.oecd.org/dataoecd/56/17/31613187.doc>.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* and “2002 Kananaskis Commitment Final Report: Africa,” G8 Research Group, May 2003. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2003compliance/Compliance%202002%20Africa.pdf>.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² “Road to Evian: Implementation Report by Africa Personal Representatives to Leaders on the G8 Africa Action Plan,” Evian, 1 June 2003. Date of Access: 15 January 2005.

<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2003evian/apr030601.html>.

⁴³ “Senior ECA staff participate in OECD/DAR Peer Review of Canada,” UNECA. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.uneca.org/eca_resources/Meetings_Events/oecd_dac/>.

aspects of the processes, overall they have not been empowered to participate.⁴⁴ In addition, only 26 countries out of 53 African Union members have agreed to take part.⁴⁵ This is perhaps most troubling because countries such as Zimbabwe and Libya have not come forth. Others fear that the APRM is only being implemented to increase Foreign Direct Investment, and not to address issues pertaining to good governance.^{46 47}

Despite criticism of poor communication between the APRM Secretariat and African countries⁴⁸, the African Peer Review Panel, has established rules, procedures, guidelines, a budget, and an internal self-assessment questionnaire . Country Support Missions have been established in Rwanda, Ghana, Kenya⁴⁹ and Mauritius, and the process seems to be underway.⁵⁰ Once the results of the preliminary visits and the questionnaires are released, it will be interesting to observe how the G8 countries and the African Union respond to the results, and whether or not policies are thereafter altered to reflect an improvement in good governance.

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⁴⁴ L.Muthoni Wanyeki. "In Bed With the Govt: Whither Civil Society?," The East African, Nairobi, 8 January 2004.

⁴⁵ Gobind Nankani. "NEPAD: Multistakeholder Dialogue by, Vice President, Africa Region," World Bank (Johannesburg, South Africa), 22 October 2004. Date of Access: 15 January 2005. <www.worldbank.org>.

⁴⁶ Peter Kagwanja. "Despotic Leaders Beware, Peer Review is Here...," East African, 23 February 2004.

⁴⁷ Ken Ramani. "Nepad Comes Up Short 3 Years Later," East African Standard/ All Africa Global Media, (Nairobi), 9 January 2005.

⁴⁸ Moyiga Nduru. "A Challenging Road Ahead for the Peer Review Mechanism," All Africa Inter Press Service, Johannesburg, 7 January, 2005.

⁴⁹ Although there has been a Country Support Mission to Kenya, due to domestic dispute over constitutional reforms, the peer review mechanism has not formally commenced. It has been delayed to sometime later this year. See Ken Ramani. "Nepad Comes Up Short 3 Years Later," East African Standard/ All Africa Global Media, (Nairobi), 9 January 2005.

⁵⁰ Country Support Missions assess the processes and mechanisms that each country has set in place prior to the commencement of the self-assessments. "APRM Documents," NEPAD. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.nepad.org/en.html>.

Official Development Assistance

Official Development Assistance (ODA) from G8 countries to Africa was radically increased at the Kananaskis Summit in 2002 as leaders of the G8 countries recognized the need to prioritize African development. Since Kananaskis, each of the G8 countries have committed to further increases in ODA; the contributions and commitments made by each country has varied, however, each is independently noteworthy. Despite these increases, the overall record of the G8 countries in terms of ODA to Africa has been mixed as many of the commitments made by the G8 toward Africa and meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have yet to be fulfilled. More specifically, none of the G8 countries have yet to comply with the MDG goal of increasing their net ODA to 0.7% as a percentage of Gross National Income (GNI).

Background

At the Kananaskis Summit, the G8 countries agreed that at least half of new development assistance commitments announced at the International Conference on Financing for Development, held in Monterrey, Mexico in March 2002, would be divided amongst African states that govern justly, invest in their own people, and promote economic freedom.⁵¹ Promises from this meeting included substantial new development assistance commitments that would, ultimately, result in a US\$12 billion increase in ODA by 2006.⁵² Each G8 country was given a mandate to determine how to allocate the additional money they had pledged, and an agreement was made to follow-up at the next year's summit.

In Evian in 2003, the focus of the G8 had turned to Iraq, and little was mentioned regarding the Africa Action Plan (AAP). Member countries renewed their commitment to implementing The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the G8 AAP, and host country leader French President, Jacques Chirac, stated that "Africa is a continent of challenges" and that NEPAD "is the sole response to the Africa challenge."⁵³

More attention was paid to the AAP, however, at the Development Assistance Committee High Level Meeting of the OECD during the same year — a 5% increase in total net ODA was recorded, increasing the net ODA to US\$5.7 billion.⁵⁴ At this meeting it was also confirmed that existing commitments would generate an increase of about 30% over the 2001 levels by 2006 or US\$16 billion in real terms.⁵⁵

⁵¹ "The Kananaskis Summit Chair's Summary," Kananaskis, June 27, 2002. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis>.

⁵² "G8 Africa Action Plan," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

⁵³ "More G8 Promises for Africa," African Recovery, Vol. 17, No.2, July 2003. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol17no2/172g8.htm>.

⁵⁴ "2002 Kananaskis Final Compliance Report: Development — Official Development Assistance," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto. Date of Access: 05 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2003compliance/compliance%202002%20Development.pdf>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Increases to Official Development Assistance as a Percentage of Gross National Income

In 2004, Great Britain increased their budget for their Department for International Development (DfID), raising it from $_3.8$ billion in 2004 / 2005 (with a $_1$ billion annual bilateral program for Africa)⁵⁶ to $_5.3$ billion in 2007 / 2008.⁵⁷ Total UK ODA, which includes spending on development outside of DFID, will reach nearly $_6.5$ billion a year by 2007 / 2008. As a proportion of Gross National Income (GNI), ODA will rise from 0.34% today, to 0.47% in 2007 / 2008, with a goal to reach 0.7% by 2013.⁵⁸ If the UK's proposal for the "International Finance Faculty" is agreed to, however, the equivalent of a 0.7% ODA/GNI would be realized by 2008 / 2009.⁵⁹

France also increased their ODA to Africa from €2.3 billion in 2002 to €3 billion in 2003.⁶⁰ It has pledged to increase ODA as a percentage of their GNI from 0.32% in 2001 to 0.5% in 2007, and then to increase again to 0.7% in 2012.⁶¹ France is the most generous G8 country in terms of ODA per GNI, and commits at least half of their money to Africa.

Italy's ODA in 2003 was US\$2.4 billion, representing 0.17% of Italy's GNI; Italy committed in 2002 to an ODA/GNI target of 0.33% by 2006, representing an estimated 113% increase in real ODA (US\$2.7 billion) over the 2003 level.⁶² Italy has pledged to focus its ODA on Africa.⁶³

Germany has also committed to focusing its ODA on Africa. In 2002-2003 €1 billion and almost 30% of all bilateral funding went to Africa.⁶⁴ Germany pledged to increase ODA as a percentage of GDP from 0.27% in 2002 to 0.33% in 2006.⁶⁵ An additional pledge of €82 million has also been made towards the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, for the year 2005, which is more than double the current contribution of €32 million.⁶⁶

Canada Fund for Africa

Canada was the first country to commit a specific sum of money to the Africa Action Plan, which they did through the creation of the Canada Fund for Africa, worth CAD\$500 million. This Fund is part of the commitment former Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien made at the Kananaskis Summit, when he committed CAD\$6 billion in new and existing resources over 5

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "HM Treasury — UK Aid Budget." Date of Access: 13 January 2005. <www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/documents/international_issues/international_development/development_aid_budget.cfm>.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ "More G8 Promises for Africa."

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² "Italy Remains Determined to Double its AID," Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 29 September 2004. Date of Access: 6 January, 2005. <www.oecd.org>.

⁶³ "2002 Kananaskis Final Compliance Report."

⁶⁴ "2002 Kananaskis Final Compliance Report."

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ "Germany Doubles Global Fund Pledge for 2005," BuaNews (Pretonia), 5 December, 2004. Date of Access: 6 January, 2005. <www.allafrica.com/stories/200412060604.html>.

years to Africa's development.⁶⁷ Canada increased their international assistance throughout 2004 and has allowed for a further 8% increase in 2005-2006. This new pledge in development assistance would increase Canada's total contribution by 36% over the next 4 years, which would be consistent with their commitment to double their assistance budget by 2010.⁶⁸ At least half of Canada's ODA until 2010 will be earmarked for Africa's Development.⁶⁹

Millennium Challenge Account

The ODA of the United States has grown at a rate of 12% per year since 2001, and they have pledged to increase it by 50%, resulting in an annual increase of US\$5 billion by 2006.⁷⁰ These funds will go into a "Millennium Challenge Account", and 8 of the 16 first selected countries will be African.

Debt Forgiveness

Russia has chosen to provide development assistance to Africa by writing off US\$35 billion in African debts.⁷¹ The Russian Federation does not partake in all of the economic meetings of the G7 countries, and due to its own economic situation is limited in the amount of ODA it can offer.

Decreases in Official Development Assistance

Japan has decreased their ODA by 9.4%, moving from a contribution of US\$10.6 billion to US\$9.64 billion.⁷² Japan also plans to cut foreign aid in the 2005 fiscal year, for the sixth year in a row, by 3.8%.⁷³ While most of Japan's ODA focuses on Asia, they did commit US\$700 million to Africa for basic human needs, and more than US\$1 billion for infrastructure development in Africa, which began in 2003.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ "Former Prime Minister's Newsroom Archives (1995-2003): Canada Helps Build New Partnerships With Africa," Government of Canada- Privy Council Office (Ottawa, Canada), 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 13 January, 2005. <www.pco-bcp.gc.ca>.

⁶⁸ "Canadian Statement — UNGA Debate on NEPAD," Canada Fund for Africa, 18 October 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

⁶⁹ "Former Prime Minister's Newsroom Archives."

⁷⁰ Statement by Dr. Wade F. Horn, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, on Resource Mobilization and Enabling Environment for Poverty Eradication in the Context of the Implementation of The Program of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2001-2010. "USUN Press Release #115" ECOSOC High Level Segment (New York), June 29, 2004. Date of Access: 8 January 2005. <www.un.org/esa/coordination/ecosoc/hl2004/usa.pdf>.

"The White House — The Millennium Challenge Account," The White House: President George W. Bush. Date of Access: 8 January 2005. <www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/developingnations/millennium.html>.

⁷¹ "2002 Kananaskis Final Compliance Report."

⁷² "2002 Kananaskis Final Compliance Report."

⁷³ "Futures and Commodity Market News: Kyoto Economic News Summary." Date of Access: 06 January 2005. <news_tradingcharts.com/futures/413162302734.html>.

⁷⁴ "More G8 Promises for Africa."

Conclusion

It is important to note that despite a 1970 commitment at a UN General Assembly for developed nations to commit 0.7% of their GDP towards ODA, only Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg have actually done so; none of the G7 members (Russia does not take part in all economic meetings) is even close, although France and Great Britain have at least set a goal to do so in the future.⁷⁵ In 2003 the combined aid budgets of the G7 countries, when assessed as a percentage of GDP, was only 0.24% — in 1960 it was 0.48%.⁷⁶ If ODA is not substantially increased, and accompanied with other actions such as debt forgiveness, in the near future, the MDGs for reducing poverty will be completely out of reach.⁷⁷ The entire membership of the United Nations agreed upon the MDGs in 2000, but the G8 aid budgets have not increased adequately since then, or since their more recent commitments at the Kananaskis Summit.

Total Flow by Development Cooperative Directorate Country (not specifically to Africa)⁷⁸

	Total Contribution US\$ Million		ODA as percentage of GNI	
	2002	2003	2002	2003
Canada	2 004	2 031	0.28	0.24
France	5 486	7 253	0.38	0.41
Germany	5 324	6 784	0.27	0.28
Japan	9 283	8 880	0.23	0.20
United Kingdom	4 924	6 282	0.31	0.34
United States	13 290	16 254	0.13	0.15
Italy	2 332	2 433	0.20	0.17

*Compiled by Sharon Peake
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⁷⁵ Jim Lobe. “45 Million Children to Die in Next Decade,” Global Policy Forum, 6 December, 2004. Date of Access: 14 January 2005. <www.globalpolicy.org/soecon/develop/oda/2004/1206oda.htm>.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ “Net Official Development Assistance by DAC Country,” Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Date of Access: 7 January 2005. <www.oecd.org/dataoecd/52/9/1893143.xls>.

Debt Relief: HIPC Initiative

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank introduced the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative in 1996 in order to assist the world's most impoverished countries to reduce their debt burdens.⁷⁹ At the 1999 G8 Summit in Köln, Germany enhancements were made to the HIPC, including the establishment of the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility, which outlines the structural reforms a program candidate must agree to follow if they are to qualify for HIPC relief.⁸⁰ Although the enhanced HIPC initiative applies to countries outside of Africa, the fact that 32 of the 38 countries potentially eligible for aid under this initiative are in sub-Saharan Africa⁸¹ demonstrates the particular significance of this program to the continent.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the HIPC Initiative and the issue of debt relief more generally would figure centrally after the formation of the G8 Africa Action Plan (AAP) at the Kananaskis Summit in 2002. This action plan listed the implementation of debt relief as one of the principal activities that the G8 was prepared to undertake in order to show its support for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).⁸² Significantly, however, this demonstration of solidarity with the objectives of NEPAD did not involve a commitment to extend multilateral debt relief beyond HIPC.

Debt Sustainability for the Poorest

The emphasis on HIPC as the primary instrument of debt reduction for the poorest continued at the Sea Island Summit in July 2004. This summit's statement entitled *Debt Sustainability for the Poorest* emphasized the achievements of the HIPC Initiative and made a commitment to work towards extending the sunset clause of the program from the end of 2004 to December 31, 2006.⁸³ The extension of the sunset clause has been achieved without much difficulty.⁸⁴

Despite the role that the HIPC Initiative has played in allowing some African countries to shed some of their debt load,⁸⁵ there is reason to believe that HIPC does not provide sufficient debt relief to enable these countries to meet the developmental goals set by the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Not only can some post-completion point countries end up with debt

⁷⁹ "The Enhanced HIPC Initiative," The World Bank Group (Washington) 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.worldbank.org>.

⁸⁰ "Report of G7 Finance Ministers on the Köln Debt Initiative to the Köln Economic Summit (Cologne)," 18-20 June 1999. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/finance/fm061899.htm>.

⁸¹ "Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (38 Countries)," The World Bank Group (Washington), 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.worldbank.org>.

⁸² "G8 Africa Action Plan," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

⁸³ "Debt Sustainability for the Poorest," The White House Office of the Press Secretary (Sea Island/ Washington), 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.usa.gov/061004b.htm>.

⁸⁴ "Public Information Notice," International Monetary Fund (Washington), 30 September 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pn/2004/pn0411.htm>.

⁸⁵ "Debt Sustainability for the Poorest," The White House Office of the Press Secretary, (Sea Island/ Washington), 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.usa.gov/061004b.htm>.

loads that are still unsustainable,⁸⁶ but the payments that must be made to service the remaining debt diverts funds from social expenditures such as education and health care.⁸⁷ As a consequence, there is pressure on the G8 from civil society groups such as Jubilee Research, AFRODAD and Oxfam International to extend debt relief beyond the provisions of HIPC by canceling 100% of the multilateral debt owed by poor countries.⁸⁸

Although there were not any promises of such extensive debt relief in Sea Island, *Debt Sustainability for the Poorest* alludes to the possibility of additional assistance for very poor African countries overburdened by debt by charging finance ministers to consider further measures to help poor countries achieve debt sustainability.⁸⁹ Despite reaffirmation of a commitment to debt relief by G7 Finance Ministers in October 2004,⁹⁰ they did not reach an agreement about what magnitude and means of further debt reduction is necessary and appropriate.⁹¹

Proposed Plans for the Cancellation of all Multilateral Debt

Whereas, the majority of the G8 governments have yet to lend their official support for full multilateral debt cancellation, the United States and the United Kingdom have both proposed the cancellation of 100% of multilateral debt of Africa's poorest countries. However, the American and British plans differ from each other. The United States believes that debt cancellation should be financed by the World Bank and should be followed by a system of grants thereby ending the "ongoing lend and forgive cycle."⁹² On the other hand, the United Kingdom's proposal involves the revaluation of IMF gold and commitments by the G7 countries to replenish the World Bank's and the African Development Bank's funds.⁹³ In support of its plan, the United Kingdom has announced that it will unilaterally write off the multilateral debt owed to it by the world's poorest countries through these international financial institutions.⁹⁴

Other G8 governments have executed more modest debt relief in the past year. On September 22, 2004 Ralph Goodale, Canadian Minister of Finance, announced the cancellation of all bilateral

⁸⁶ Christopher Swann. "G8 fails to cancel debt of poorest countries," Jubilee Research (London), 11 June 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.jubilee2000uk.org>.

⁸⁷ "Canada Cancels all debt owed by three African nations," Department of Finance Canada (Ottawa), 22 September 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.fin.gc.ca/news04/04-055e.html>.

⁸⁸ "Civil Society Groups Decry Failure of G7 to Act on Debt at IMF/World Bank Meetings," Jubilee USA Network (Washington), 5 October 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.jubileeusa.org/jubilee.cgi?path=/press_room&page=release100504.html>.

⁸⁹ "Debt Sustainability for the Poorest," The White House Office of the Press Secretary, (Sea Island/ Washington), 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.usa.gov/061004b.htm>.

⁹⁰ "Statement by G-7 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors," The Government of Canada's G8 Website (Ottawa), 1 October 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.gc.ca/central_bank_governors-en.asp>.

⁹¹ "G7 Calls for more debt relief for the poorest nations," Agence France Press (Washington), 1 October 2004.

⁹² John Snow. "Development Committee Statement for the Record," United States Department of the Treasury (Washington), 2 October 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.treas.gov/press/releases/20041021350115374.htm?SEARCH.X=22&SEARCH.Y=11>.

⁹³ Gordon Brown. "Speech by the Rt. Hon Gordon Brown MP," Chancellor of the Exchequer at the National Gallery of Scotland (London), 6 January 2005. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/newsroom_and_speeches/press/2005/press_03_05.cfm>.

⁹⁴ James Blitz. "Brown spells out principles on debt relief," The Financial Times, 9 December 2004.

debt that Senegal, Ghana and Ethiopia owed to Canada.⁹⁵ In January 2005 Canada also extended its debt cancellation policy to Madagascar, abandoning CAD\$21 million of the debt owed to Canada by the African country.⁹⁶

France has also taken moderate action toward meeting its debt relief commitments under HIPC. In October 2004 €2 million was provided to the government of Burundi by France to be put into Burundi's Fiduciary Fund For the Payment of Burundi's Multilateral Debt.⁹⁷ Furthermore, an agreement announced between France and Senegal in November has resulted in the cancellation of €217 million of Senegalese debt to France.⁹⁸ Finally, in December France also wrote off €152.6 million in bilateral and commercial debt owed to it by Ghana.⁹⁹

Although many civil society groups have expressed disappointment that the G7/G8 has not reached an agreement to cancel the debt of overburdened African countries,¹⁰⁰ there is reason to believe that 2005 could be a significant year for debt relief in Africa. The United Kingdom, which has the G8 presidency for the year, has promised to advocate strongly for the full cancellation of both bilateral and multilateral debt of impoverished countries.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

At present, however, the debt burden has not been lifted off of African countries and there are a number of factors that could derail the United Kingdom's plans. The greatest uncertainty derives from the fact that the governments of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan have not been very vocal about African debt relief and the full cancellation of debt in recent months. A lack of commitment on the part of these governments would effectively thwart further progress on this issue. A G7 Finance Minister meeting in February of this year will be the next likely opportunity for a new comprehensive agreement on debt relief.

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⁹⁵ "Canada Cancels all debt owed by three African nations," Department of Finance Canada (Ottawa), 22 September 2004. Date Accessed: 5 January, 2005. <www.fin.gc.ca/news04/04-055e.html>.

⁹⁶ "Canada Cancels All Debt Owed by Madagascar," Ministry of Finance (Ottawa), 17 January 2005. Date of Access: 18 January 2005 <www.fin.gc.ca/news05/05-005e.html>.

⁹⁷ "France Provides a Grant of Two Million Euros to the Fiduciary Fund For the Payment of Brundi's Multilateral Deb," World Bank, 3 October 2004.

⁹⁸ Libération. "Le Chiffre: 217 millions d'euro" 29 November 2004.

⁹⁹ "France writes off Ghana's 152.6m-dollar debt," BBC Monitoring Africa (London), 1 December 2004.

¹⁰⁰ "Civil Society Groups Decry Failure of G7 to Act on Debt at IMF/World Bank Meetings," Jubilee USA Network (Washington), 5 October 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.jubileeusa.org/jubilee.cgi?path=/press_room&page=release100504.html>.

¹⁰¹ Gordon Brown. "Speech by the Rt. Hon Gordon Brown MP," Chancellor of the Exchequer at the National Gallery of Scotland (London), 6 January 2005. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/newsroom_and_speeches/press/2005/press_03_05.cfm>.

Free Trade

A plan set forth at the Evian Summit in 2003 was designed to promote freer trade through a multilateral trading system embodied in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Doha Development Agenda. Its aim was to assist in the integration of less developed countries into that system, in the hope that trade would be the primary engine of growth in Africa.¹⁰² Despite the collapse of WTO negotiations concerning the Doha Round following the Cancun Ministerial, trade talks have been largely placed back on track raising the prospects for the realization of a new trade regime more favourable to Africa. Britain's chairmanship of this year's G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland is to focus on development and tackling poverty in Africa, with trade liberalization being a key component to achieving these goals.

Commission for Africa

The Commission for Africa, created by the British Government, on 26 February 2004 is intended to generate action for a strong and prosperous Africa, while supporting the implementation of existing G8 commitments, as well as the work of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Union. The Commission has stated that "this goal is realisable but requires a significant investment in human capacity and infrastructure to break the cycle of poverty and dependence."¹⁰³ It has also urged the international community to make such concrete investments, such as ending unfair trade practices that include agricultural subsidies and tariffs in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.¹⁰⁴

Trade Subsidies and Barriers to Trade

Trade subsidies and complex trade regulations implemented by G8 countries have been accused of stifling export industry and sustainable growth in Africa, thus going against their commitment to support freer trade. Support for these types of accusations is strengthened by statements such as that made by Gordon Brown, Chancellor of Exchequer, who said recently, that "for every dollar given to poor countries in aid, two dollars are lost because of unfair trade."¹⁰⁵ However, declarations made by other officials have been more promising. For example, at the Addis Ababa Meeting for the Commission for Africa last October, Canadian Minister of Finance, Ralph Goodale, agreed with the call to eliminate agriculture subsidies. He also stressed the importance of export readiness in African countries, which includes lowering the cost of opening a business and removing bureaucratic obstacles.¹⁰⁶ Overall, Hilary Benn, head of the Commission for

¹⁰² "Cooperative G8 action on Trade," 2003 Sommet d'Evian Official Website. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.g8.fr/evian/extras/501.html>.

¹⁰³ Gifty Siamah. "Commission Urged to Concert G8," All Africa, 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005.

<allafrica.com/stories/200411230845.html>.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ "Speech by The Rt Hon Gordon Brown MP," Chancellor of The Exchequer at The BBC World Service Trust Conference," Government News Network, 24 November 2004.

¹⁰⁶ "Commission for Africa," Addis Ababa Meeting, 7-8 October 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.fin.gc.ca/activity/consult/af_ovr_e.html>.

Africa, is optimistic that the Commission's aid plan can overcome skepticism and resistance from some wealthier countries and African states.¹⁰⁷

United States African Growth and Opportunity Act

Recent trade developments between the U.S. and Africa include Cote d'Ivoire being dropped from the list of countries eligible for preferential tariffs under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) while Burkina Faso was added to this list. Duty-free access to apparel and other products under this agreement has benefited AGOA eligible countries and has resulted in new investment flows into garment manufacturing.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the creation of a Free Trade Agreement with five members of the Southern African Custom Union — Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland — has been stalled due to labour, environmental and intellectual property right disputes.¹⁰⁹

Economic Partnership Agreement

The European Union (EU) has promised to support the efforts of African countries to negotiate a new trade deal to replace the existing Lomé Convention (1975)/Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000).¹¹⁰ The EU's position is to have the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), introduced at Cotonou, restructured to be based on the model of reciprocal free trade, which requires the elimination of all trade barriers within a reasonable time.¹¹¹ The proposed Agreement has drawn criticism from civil society groups, however, who have argued that rapid trade liberalisation would not lead to sustainable growth if all goods from ACP countries are opened up to the EU before they are in a position to compete.¹¹²

The New Partnership for Africa's Development

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has stated its belief that Africa should become more involved in the global economy through the implementation of a series of reforms that must also be supported by the G8. NEPAD has been working to raise awareness of the harm of these national policies. For instance, Ross Herbert, head of the NEPAD and governance programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, has stated that, "Learning the art of lobbying is a major challenge for NEPAD."¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Patrick Wintour. "Benn hails aid plan for Africa: Optimism that rich countries will give extra \$50bn," *The Guardian*, 10 November 2004.

¹⁰⁸ Ernest Harsch. "Investors Start to Eye Africa," *Africa Renewal* (New York), 6 January 2005. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200501060586.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Max Hamata and Walvis Bay. "U.S. - African Minister Deadlock on Trade Agreement," *New Era* (Windhoek), 15 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200412150333.html>.

¹¹⁰ Benson Kathuri. "EU Will Back Africa's Quest for a Trade Deal," *The East African Standard* (Nairobi), 8 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200412080917.html>.

¹¹¹ Bester Gabotlale. "ACP Countries Could Increase Trade Share to EU," *Mmegi/The Reporter* (Garborone), 24 November 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200411240143.html>.

¹¹² Ann De Ron. "Parliamentarians Presented Some Myths," *Inter Press Service* (Johannesburg), 23 November 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200411230914.html>.

¹¹³ Manoah Esipisu. "Africa's recovery plan — much noise, little action," *Reuter*, 24 November 2004.

Regulation and Standards from Export Market

Aside from the national policies of the West, another problem African countries face are that exports from most countries are not diversified and are, therefore, often subject to volatile prices in the international export market. Slight changes in demand can have serious effects on the economies of these countries. Furthermore, African states are required to meet the standards and regulations of export markets, mainly in the EU and the US. The EU's decision to ban genetically modified grains has caused countries, such as Angola and Zambia, to decline necessary food aid from the United States in order to prevent the contamination of their own products and to avoid losing the European market.¹¹⁴¹¹⁵ For example, the World Bank had to warn the EU that its new regulation on flower imports could seriously harm Kenya's flower industries and its economy in general.¹¹⁶ This shows that many of the wealthier states may not take into consideration the effects of their economic policies on the economies of less-developed states.

Infrastructure and Competition

Many people look back to the hasty liberalisation of trade in the 1980's, which did not produce the desired result because of the absence of policies that would support local companies in poorer countries competing in international markets with wealthier states.¹¹⁷ This is the reason why some African countries and civil society groups have resented recommendations from the IMF and World Bank who continue to call for trade liberalization. These same groups have also accused NEPAD of bowing to the G8.¹¹⁸ Government officials and economists in Africa believe that donor-led spending focuses too much on the social sector and not enough on infrastructure, trade reforms or venture capital, which could potentially undermine the recipient governments control in these areas.¹¹⁹ The result is that African countries have in the past not been equipped to take full advantage of greater market access.

Conclusion

The Economist calls trade liberalization "a simple choice for poverty-fighting politicians" but it requires that the politicians have the courage to bear the political cost at home.¹²⁰ There is a need for the G8 to recognize that removing agricultural subsidies,

¹¹⁴ "Bush: Africa hostage to GM fears," BBC News (London), 22 May, 2003. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3050855.stm>.

¹¹⁵ Zoe Eisenstein. "Angola moves to ban GM Products," BBC News (London), 19 March 2004. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3551101.stm>.

¹¹⁶ Karanja Njoroge and Antony Gitonga. "New EU Rules to Hit Small Flower Growers," The East African Standard (Nairobi), 7 January 2005. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200501060684.htm>.

¹¹⁷ David White. "Struck in Poverty after 40 years of aid," Financial Times, 25 November 2004.

¹¹⁸ Emad Mekay. "Economy: World Bank urges Free Trade on All Front," Inter Press Service (Johannesburg), 17 November 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200411170600.html>. Etim Imisim. "Campaign Against Global Apartheid Takes Root in Africa," This Day/All Africa Global Media (Lagos), 22 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200412220046.html>.

¹¹⁹ David White. "Struck in Poverty after 40 years of aid," Financial Times, 25 November 2004.

¹²⁰ "Making Poverty History," The Economist (London/Washington D.C.), 16 December 2004.

assisting in building infrastructure and ensuring good governance to create an environment that allows African products to compete on the world market are all integral components in making free trade beneficial to African economies.

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Agricultural Subsidies

The task of alleviating poverty in Africa has been addressed by the G8 through a range of dimensions that includes the possibility of Africa trading its way out of poverty through increased integration into the international economy. The initiative requires that industrialized countries provide market access for African products and promote free trade throughout the region.

In this context the focus on the elimination of agricultural subsidies in the world's wealthiest countries is critical to the sustainable development of the African continent.¹²¹ These types of subsidies have the adverse affect of reducing world prices in agricultural commodities as well as impeding farmers in the developing world from competing against the wealthier states in the global market place. Today, 70 per cent of Africans depend on agriculture for their livelihood and as a result the decline of export revenue in the region has proven inevitable.¹²² The US Farm Bill, which over the next decade will increase the United States' domestic agricultural subsidies by 80% to at least US\$82 billion, hinders African economic development.¹²³ For example, the World Bank suggests that US subsidies alone reduce West Africa's annual revenue from cotton exports by US\$250 million a year.¹²⁴ Also, the European Union's (EU's) Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which sets direct export subsidies to protect its farmers, enables European states to dump sugar in Algeria and Nigeria, thus, depriving them of the opportunity to buy sugar from other African countries, such as Mozambique, at a lower price.¹²⁵

Background

The topic of agricultural subsidies has been a consideration of the G8 since the 2002 Kananaskis Summit. The African Action Plan (AAP) pledged among other objectives an adherence to the integration of African countries into the world trading system as a means of achieving adequate trade based growth that consequently would contribute to the development of the region.¹²⁶ This vision of Africa's progress was inspired by the framework of the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) formulated at the 2001 negotiations of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It challenged the G8 and the EU to provide "substantial improvements in market access, reductions of all forms of export subsidies with a view to their being phased out, and substantial reductions in trade distorting domestic support."¹²⁷

¹²¹ "Document from NEPAD Workshop on Market Access (South Africa)," NEPAD, 25-27 November 2002. Date of Access: 29 December 2004. <www.nepad.org/documents/62.pdf>.

¹²² Goodale, Ralph. "Commission for Africa: Addis Ababa Meeting, October 7-8 2004." Department of Finance (Ottawa). Date of Access: 28 December 2004. <www.fin.gc.ca/activty/consult/af_ovr_e.html>.

¹²³ "New US Farm Bill Upsets WTO Partners, Could Hurt Developing Countries," Bridges Weekly News Digest, 15 May 2002. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <www.ictsd.org/weekly/02-05-15/story2.htm>

¹²⁴ Richard Mshomba. "How Northern Subsidies Hurt Africa," Africa Recovery Vol.16 #2-3, September 2002. Date of Access: 29 December 2004. <www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol16no2/162agric.htm>.

¹²⁵ Fraser Nelson. "Why No Good Will Come From the G8 Summit," Scotsman, 27 December 2004.

¹²⁶ "G8 Africa Action Plan," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 30 December 2004. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

This commitment was reiterated at subsequent G8 summits in Evian (2003) and Sea Island (2004), where the G8 countries once again pledged their devotion to “greater and effective trade liberalization”.¹²⁸ They promised to advance this matter by pursuing stronger rules for global trade within the context of the WTO system and the implementation of the Doha Development Agenda, an important framework committed to global economic growth and development.¹²⁹

Agricultural Subsidies and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development

The topic is similarly attended to by NEPAD, which includes in its general framework a series of market access proposals that entail attempts to phase out non-tariff barriers, such as agricultural subsidies, in the post-Cancun trade negotiations of the WTO.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the NEPAD initiative has been judged inadequate in achieving this objective due to its poor lobbying and an inability to win the concessions Africa wants on trade.¹³¹

Agricultural Subsidies after Sea Island

There have been numerous statements regarding the issue of agricultural subsidies since the Sea Island Summit yet little action has been taken to phase out these distortions in world agricultural commodity markets.

On August 1 2004, members of the WTO agreed to a document, called “The July Package,” which set out a framework for a new agreement on trade in agriculture. Although this decision revived interest in the Doha Development Agenda, which was threatened by last year’s failed negotiations in Cancun, cuts to actual subsidies were “small to non-existent.”¹³²

The 2004 Economic Report on Africa, issued in September by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), applauded Washington’s 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the EU’s Everything But Arms initiative for opening up some sectors of their countries economies to African goods. Nevertheless, it also emphasized that those gains were muted by the failure to eradicate agricultural subsidies in general.¹³³ This poor development in trade negotiations was underlined at the Commission for Africa Round Table conference, held in Accra on November 16 2004, where the G8 was challenged for following trade policies that conflicted with their commitment to aid the impoverished continent.

Conclusion

Despite the G8’s somewhat poor record overall in resolving the issue, there is hope that in the near future these non-tariff barriers will be eradicated. Prime Minister Tony Blair has repeatedly

¹²⁸ “G8 Leaders Statement on Trade, G8 Summit (Sea Island),” 9 June 2004. Date of Access: 26 December 2004. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/trade.html>.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Manoah Esipisu. “Africa’s Recovery Plan- Much Noise Little Action,” Reuters, 25 November 2004.

¹³² Sophia Murphy. “Another “Truly Historic,” Trade Agreement,” Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 2 August 2004. Date of Access: 28 December 2004. <www.iatp.org/iatp/library/admin/uploadedfiles/Another_Truly_Historic_Trade_Agreement.pdf>.

¹³³ Marty Logan. “Debt Doooms Development Goals –UN,” Inter Press Service, 30 September 2004.

pledged to use Britain's leadership of the G8 and EU in 2005 to advance development in Africa through undertakings that will be outlined in a forthcoming Commission for Africa report due in March. The report is expected to include, among other trade issues; the removal of unfair export subsidies that have skewed global markets against African products.¹³⁴ If the industrialized states neglect to meet this condition, however, any economic growth in the region induced by market liberalization will be severely undermined.¹³⁵

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¹³⁴ "Blair: Poor, Unstable Africa A Breeding Ground for Terror," Dow Jones, 7 October 2004.

¹³⁵ Marty Logan. "Debt Doooms Development Goals –UN," Inter Press Service, 30 September 2004.

Environment: Famine and Food Security

Since the 2001 G8 Summit in Genoa, not only has Africa garnered a substantial amount of attention from G8 leaders, but the specific issue of famine in Africa has played a significant role on the agenda. While some of the commitments made toward famine since Genoa have been criticized for being vague and imprecise, the number of commitments made by the G8 countries at each summit have continued to increase, culminating in the creation of a new initiative specifically committed to ending the cycle of famine in Africa reached at the 2004 Sea Island Summit in the United States.

Background

In the 1980s, the G8 countries were active in making statements and commitments during various G8 Summits regarding food security in Africa.¹³⁶ In 2001, at the Genoa Summit the G8 countries recognized that a substantial component of Official Development Assistance (ODA) should go towards food security. At the Kananaskis Summit the following year, the Africa Action Plan (AAP) was unveiled and with it further measures were unveiled. While the attention given to famine was encouraging, the commitments made were vague and lacked precise targets.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, the AAP was a step in the right direction, and one which helped to spurn the impressive amount of attention given to food security at the 2003 Evian Summit. There, the *Action Against Famine, Especially in Africa: A G8 Action Plan* was initiated, which committed G8 countries to take extensive measures in such areas as improving famine warning systems.¹³⁸ The 2004 Sea Island Summit surpassed even Evian in terms of the role that famine had on the meeting's agenda, with an impressive 49 commitments reached on the issue.¹³⁹ Extensive dialogue between the G8 leaders and various African delegates helped to launch a new initiative

¹³⁶ In the 1980s, statements pertaining to food security were included in declarations at the following G8 Summits: Venice 1980, Ottawa 1981, Bonn 1985, and Tokyo 1986. Since this reports focuses primarily on the initiatives that have taken place since 2001 and 2002 analysis on the actions taken by the G8 countries during the 1980s have not been included. For more information regarding the 1980s G8 declarations and please see: "Declaration: Relations with Developing Countries," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, 23 June 1980. Date of Access: 5 February 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1980venice/communique/developpe.html>. "Declaration of the Ottawa Summit: Relations with Developing Countries," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, 21 July 1981. Date of Access: 5 February 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1981ottawa/communique/developpe.html>. "Bonn Economic Declaration: Towards Sustained Growth and Higher Employment: Relations with Developing Countries," G8 Research Group, University of Toronot, 4 May 1985. Date of Access: 5 February 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1985bonn/communique/relation.html>. "Tokyo Economic Declaration," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, 6 May 1986. Date of Access: 5 February 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1986tokyo/communique.html>.

¹³⁷ "Issue Performance Assessment: Africa Action Plan," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, June 2002. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2002kananaskis/assessment_africaplan.html>.

¹³⁸ "Action Against Famine, Especially in Africa: A G8 Action Plan," Sommet d'Evian Official Website (Evian), 2003. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.fco.gov.uk/Files/KFile/Art%2011%20FAMINE.pdf>.

¹³⁹ John Kirton. "America at the G8: From Vulnerability to Victory at the 2004 Sea Island Summit," 18 June 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2004seaisland/kirton2004.html>.

there, entitled *Ending the Cycle of Famine in the Horn of Africa, Raising Agricultural Productivity, and Promoting Rural Development in Food Insecure Countries*.¹⁴⁰

Response to the Crisis in Ethiopia

A considerable portion of the Sea Island initiative focused on the present food crisis in Ethiopia. The G8 countries promised to support a new reform program by the Ethiopian government, and more specifically, agreed to strive for “food security for five million chronically food insecure [Ethiopian] people by 2009.”¹⁴¹ In response to this, Canada announced in late December 2004 that it was giving more than CAD\$20 million to the World Food Programme’s (WFP) Ethiopian mission.¹⁴² Canadian Minister of International Cooperation, Aileen Carroll, described the contributions by saying that “they complement other food security investments that Canada is making to accompany Ethiopia’s considerable efforts in this critical area,” including assistance towards various food-for-work and school feeding programs.¹⁴³

Britain has also demonstrated its adherence to the Ethiopian famine pledges by contributing £6.9 million to the emergency in 2004.¹⁴⁴ Additionally, in compliance with a statement from the Sea Island famine initiative which declared that defeating food security “will require a global partnership between the governments of affected countries, donors, international institutions, the private sector, and...NGOs”, Britain has committed itself to working with the Ethiopian government and aid agencies to monitor the food needs of endangered areas of southern Ethiopia.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Britain — together with Canada, the United States (US), the WFP and the World Bank — is currently trying to develop a national safety net for Ethiopia. This would “transit approximately five million...food insecure people out of annual emergency relief...and under the protection of a multi-annual safety net”.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ “Issue Objectives for the 2004 Sea Island Summit,” G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2004seaisland/issues.htm#famine>.

¹⁴¹ “Ending the Cycle of Famine in the Horn of Africa, Raising Agricultural Productivity, and Promoting Rural Development in Food Insecure Countries,” Sea Island Summit Official Website (Sea Island), 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.fco.gov.uk/Files/KFile/Art%2003%20Famine.pdf>.

¹⁴² “Canada boosts food assistance for Ethiopia,” Canadian International Development Agency (Ottawa), 20 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

¹⁴³ “Canada boosts food assistance for Ethiopia,” Canadian International Development Agency, (Ottawa), 20 December 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

¹⁴⁴ “Humanitarian situation in Ethiopia — September 2004,” Department of International Development (London), 17 September 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.dfid.gov.uk/news/files/countries/africa/ethiopianfonote17sep04.asp>.

¹⁴⁵ “Ending the Cycle of Famine in the Horn of Africa, Raising Agricultural Productivity, and Promoting Rural Development in Food Insecure Countries,” Sea Island Summit Official Website (Sea Island), 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.fco.gov.uk/Files/KFile/Art%2003%20Famine.pdf>. “Humanitarian situation in Ethiopia — September 2004,” Department of International Development (London), 17 September 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.dfid.gov.uk/news/files/countries/africa/ethiopianfonote17sep04.asp>.

¹⁴⁶ “Humanitarian situation in Ethiopia — September 2004,” Department of International Development (London), 17 September 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.dfid.gov.uk/news/files/countries/africa/ethiopianfonote17sep04.asp>.

Famine and Conflict in Sudan

In addition to Ethiopia, the G8's recent actions regarding food security have also been substantially directed toward Sudan. There the US, for example, has given just under US\$113 million during the past twelve months to the WFP's emergency food relief mission for Darfur.¹⁴⁷ In compliance with one of the G8's food security goals of bettering the access of sub-Saharan farmers to land and credit, the US has also "recently issued a new agricultural development strategy that emphasizes the importance of linking farmers to markets".¹⁴⁸ Other G8 nations have also been active in Sudan. For instance, The World Vision's South Sudan Food Security sector is funded by Germany,¹⁴⁹ and France has committed US\$3.68 million to the World Food Programme in Darfur.¹⁵⁰

Global Food Aid Programs

Since November 2004, however, the US has been reducing its overall contributions to global food aid programs. Consequently, only emergency crises like those in Sudan and Ethiopia can be expected to receive any major attention, and NGOs such as Save the Children have had to scale back their food programs elsewhere.¹⁵¹ Spokesman for the US government, Chad Kolton, said that while "the administration 'acknowledged the need for additional resources' in food aid...there was no way he could say whether more programs would be cut in the coming year."¹⁵²

Nevertheless, the US currently stands as the world's largest donator of food aid, and has largely complied with the Sea Island pledge to work closely with the WFP, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and other leading international NGOs in the food security arena.¹⁵³ The US' total contribution of US\$945 million to the WFP in 2004, for example, represented half of all food aid received by the program that year.¹⁵⁴ The contribution levels of the other G8 countries with respect to the WFP differed widely. Worldwide, Japan and Britain were ranked an impressive third and fourth place respectively, while Germany placed seventh. France, despite its contribution to the WFP in Darfur, however, achieved a meager fourteenth placing and Russia an even worse sixty-seventh ranking.¹⁵⁵ However, it must also be noted that the French government was one of the core architects of the World Hunger Summit in September 2004. During the occasion, President Jacques Chirac pronounced that "the billion men, women and children

¹⁴⁷ "Darfur Humanitarian Emergency," USAID (Washington), 30 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/sudan/darfur.html>.

¹⁴⁸ Kathryn McConnell, "One-Seventh of World's People Suffer Hunger, Experts Say," US Department of State (Washington), 30 November 2004.

¹⁴⁹ "Food Security Programme in Sudan," Worldvision (Dan Teng'o), 19 October 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.worldvision.ie/News/News_Archive/Food_Security_Programme_in_Sudan.html>.

¹⁵⁰ "WFP surpasses Target, feeding more than 1.3 Million people in Darfur," World Food Program, (Khartoum), 6 October 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <<http://www.wfp.org/index.asp?section=2>>.

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Becker, "U.S. Cutting Food Aid That Is Aimed at Self-Sufficiency," The New York Times (New York), 22 December 2004.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Andrew S. Natsios. "Food Crises Take Priority," The New York Times (New York), 29 December 2004.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ "WFP Donors," World Food Programme 2005. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.wfp.org/appeals/donors_list/index.html>.

imprisoned in extreme poverty and hunger do not live on a far-off planet or in a far-off time. We cannot feign ignorance of them.”¹⁵⁶

Conclusion

The Sea Island initiative on reducing food security is perhaps the G8’s most specific and targeted plan to tackle famine in Africa to date, and has garnered a fair degree of action from G8 countries. To continue the momentum on the issue, the Commission for Africa — and ultimately the G8 leaders at the Gleneagles Summit — will have to devote increased attention to African famine over and above the recommendations that the Commission’s fall 2004 consultation document have already proposed.¹⁵⁷

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¹⁵⁶ “Speech by Mr Jacques CHIRAC, President of the French Republic, to the meeting on eradicating hunger and poverty,” Presidence de la Republique Francaise (New York), 20 September 2004. Date of Access: 9 January 2005. <www.elysee.fr/magazine/deplacement_etranger/2004/09/20/159563_page_12.htm>.

¹⁵⁷ “Commission for Africa: Action for a strong and prosperous Africa,” Consultation Document (London), November 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <www.commissionforafrica.org>.

Environment: Water

*Water is essential to life. Its importance spans a wide range of critical uses — from human drinking water, to sanitation, to food security and agriculture, to economic activity, to protecting the natural environment.*¹⁵⁸

One of the most critical challenges facing the African continent concerns the utilization and management of its hydrological resources. Only 62% of Africans have access to safe drinking water and only 60% to adequate sanitation facilities, with conditions much worse in rural areas than urban centers.¹⁵⁹ Currently, 14 of the 53 African countries experience water stress or water scarcity.¹⁶⁰ Freshwater is not only unevenly distributed globally, with Africa receiving only 9% of world resources, but also across the continent itself, with western and central regions much more heavily endowed.¹⁶¹ This scarcity problem is further compounded by difficulties — ecological, technical, and certainly political — in hydrological management, with only 3.8% of total renewable water resources being withdrawn for use each year.¹⁶²

The water crisis in Africa is important not only in and of itself, but also because it interconnects with many of the other challenges facing the continent. With the highest rate of population growth in the world, Africa's water resources face an increase in domestic, agricultural and industrial demand, as well as inefficient consumption patterns.¹⁶³ The provision of clean water is crucial for public health, as water-related diseases account for 80% of all illness in the developing world.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, hydrological resources seldom adhere to national boundaries and are often sources of tension and conflict between neighboring states. With the ten largest river basins combining to affect 34 countries and most nations dependent on water supplies that originate outside their own borders, effective management will require cooperative behavior

¹⁵⁸ "G8 Africa Action Plan," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 3 January 2005.

<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

¹⁵⁹ "ADB' Rural Water & Sanitation Initiative: From Concept to Implementation," African Development Bank Group (Abidjan). Date of Access: 3 January 2005.

<www.afdb.org/en/what_s_new/press_releases/adb_rural_water_sanitation_initiative>.

¹⁶⁰ Water stress is defined as less than 1700m³/capita/yr and water scarcity as less than 1000m³/capita/yr, compared to a global average of 7600m³/capita/yr; "Africa Environment Outlook: Past, present and future Access to Freshwater Resources," UNEP/GRID-Arendal (Arendal) 2002. Date of Access: 3 January 2005

<www.grida.no/aeo/149.htm>.

¹⁶¹ "Africa Environment Outlook: Past, present and future: Regional Overview- Availability of Freshwater," UNEP/GRID-Arendal (Arendal) 2002. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.grida.no/aeo/148.htm>.

¹⁶² "ADB' Rural Water & Sanitation Initiative: From Concept to Implementation," African Development Bank Group (Abidjan). Date of Access: 3 January 2005.

<www.afdb.org/en/what_s_new/press_releases/adb_rural_water_sanitation_initiative>.

¹⁶³ "Africa Environment Outlook: Past, present and future: Conclusions," UNEP/GRID-Arendal (Arendal) 2002. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.grida.no/aeo/169.htm>.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret Wertheim. "Safe Water for a Thirsty World," *The Toronto Star*, 14 September 2004.

between African states, mirroring the goals of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).¹⁶⁵

History

The water issue was first introduced into the G8 agenda at the 2002 Summit in Kananaskis, in the context of the Africa Action Plan (AAP). Section VIII was dedicated to “supporting African efforts to improve water resource development and management” by promoting “the productive and environmentally sustainable development of water resources [and] supporting efforts to improve sanitation and access to potable water.”¹⁶⁶ Specifics of what this support entailed would not be presented until the following year's summit at Evian, when Africa once again benefited from a prominent position on the agenda. *Water: A G8 Action Plan* commits its members to the following: “promoting good governance ... utilizing all financial resources ... building infrastructure by empowering local authorities and communities ... and strengthening monitoring, research and assessment.”¹⁶⁷ But despite its moniker, what this declaration failed to do was provide G8 states with a concrete plan-of-attack detailing specifics such as implementation and financing that would have obligated them to action. Tellingly, water did not even feature at Sea Island in 2004.

G8 Initiatives Regarding Water

It is rather difficult to gauge the progress made by the constituent G8 countries since the G8's vague commitments to improving the water crisis in Africa have not resulted in the creation of an independent project (infrastructural, financial or otherwise) with a set of quantifiable goals. Overall, there is little indication that water issues have gained much prominence in the spending patterns of aid to Africa in the two-and-a-half years that have elapsed since the Africa Action Plan was unveiled.

Canada Fund for Africa and the Commission for Africa:

One notable exception is Canada, who following their presidency in 2002, launched the CAD\$500 million Canada Fund for Africa, intended as their contribution to the achievement of the Africa Action Plan. Ten percent of the fund is being put towards the water crisis through investment in the African Development Bank's (ADB) African Water Facility and Integrated Resources Management Policy, the Global Water Partnership, and the UN Habitat's Water and Sanitation Trust Fund.¹⁶⁸ And promisingly, when donor countries — including all members of the G8 — just recently signed on to top-up the ADB's African Development Fund, they “agreed that a substantial share of total resources could be used in support of the Bank Rural Water

¹⁶⁵ “The Regional Impacts of Climate Change,” UNEP/GRID- Arendal (Arendal), 1997. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.grida.no/climate/ipcc/regional/017.htm>.

¹⁶⁶ “G8 Africa Action Plan,” Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

¹⁶⁷ “Water: A G8 Action Plan,” Evian, 2 June 2003. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2003evian/water_en.html>.

¹⁶⁸ “Canada Fund for Africa Initiatives: Social priorities and the environment,” Canadian International Development Agency (Ottawa). Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>.

Supply and Sanitation Initiative.”¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, much truer to the general spirit of the G8’s response to its commitment of aid for the water crisis has been the UK’s reply: the creation of a Commission for Africa, which has done little to allay criticism from many members of civil society that the G8’s solution for Africa is simply “all talk.”¹⁷⁰

Japan’s Water Initiatives in Africa

Japan has also been quite active in working toward improving the supply and quality of water in Africa. According to the Second Tokyo International Conference on African Development of 1998 (TICAD II), between October 1998 and September 2000, Japan directed 10.442 billion Yen toward water supply initiatives in Africa.¹⁷¹ Throughout 2004 Japan continued to fund various Rural Water Supply projects in Kenya, Gambia, Uganda and Tanzania, providing over \$17 million Yen in grant money to aid in the development of these initiatives.¹⁷² Furthermore, in June 2004 \$28.43 million Yen was granted for the Egyptian “Project for Water Supply Development in Northwestern Part of Sharqiya Governorate,” and \$4.91 million Yen was put toward the “Project for Groundwater Development” in Zambia.¹⁷³

A project designed by the Ethiopian Ministry of Water to improve water supply systems in Africa by founding a national centre to train engineers and technicians in the field of water supply and production, called the Groundwater Development and Water Supply Project has also been funded by the Japanese government.¹⁷⁴ The project, launched in 1998 and to be completed in 2005, has attracted trainees from all parts of the African continent. In describing Japan’s contribution to this project, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan has noted the importance of not only providing infrastructural assistance (i.e., well-building) through this initiative but also human-resources assistance.¹⁷⁵

Prospects for the 2005 Gleneagles Summit

One ray of hope for the return of international attention and action to Africa’s water crisis, after its relative omission from the initiatives undertaken by the G8 in the latter half of 2004, comes from the upcoming Gleneagles Summit 2005. Prime Minister Tony Blair has identified Climate Change and African Development as his twin priorities for the UK’s presidency of the G8.¹⁷⁶ The unique dovetailing of these two challenges in the water crisis should bring some much-needed

¹⁶⁹ Chawki Chahed. “Donors agree on Tenth Replenishment of the African Development Fund,” African Development Bank. 17 December 2004.

¹⁷⁰ “Commission for Africa (London),” 21 June 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <213.225.140.43/commission/Commission.htm>.

¹⁷¹ “TICAD II Follow-up Measures,” The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (Tokyo). Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <www.mofa.go.jp/region/africa/ticad2/follow1.html>.

¹⁷² “Grant Aid Exchange of Notes in Fiscal Year 2004,” Japan’s Official Development Assistance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (Tokyo) January 2005. Date of Access: 2 February 2005 <www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/note/grant-4.html>.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ “Japan’s Cooperation for Africa by Figure,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (Tokyo) November 2003. Date of Access: 2 February 2005 <www.mofa.go.jp/region/africa/pamph0311/oda/05.html>.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ “Policy Issues,” G8 Gleneagles 2005 (London). Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.g8.gov.uk>.

attention and publicity to the issue. Global warming will, in the future, undoubtedly further complicate water resource management in Africa by increasing the unpredictability and variation in rainfall and associated runoffs.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, a warmer atmosphere could lead to higher rates of evaporation and cause more severe drought.¹⁷⁸ The summit will be a crucial test of the

G8's resolve to finally translate intentions into actions, as Gleneagles' official priorities mean that the water issue is no longer negligible.

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¹⁷⁷ Sam Jaffee. "Facing the Global Water Crisis," *The Scientist*. 5 June 2004.

¹⁷⁸ Brian Howard. "Scientists and Citizens are Stymied by Water Crisis," *The Environmental Magazine*. 1 August 2004.

Health in Africa: HIV/AIDS

The prevalence of infectious disease as well as the lack of adequate resources and health facilities in Africa reveals that the continent continues to face challenges in development and health promotion. Of particular concern is the HIV/AIDS pandemic, with the continent's different regions experiencing diverse trends in the scale and the pace at which the disease is evolving.¹⁷⁹ The people of Africa continue to suffer the largest brunt of the over 3 million deaths each year resulting from the pandemic.¹⁸⁰ The sub-Saharan region, alone, contains just less than 64% of all people living with HIV in the world, confirming it as the planet's most-affected region¹⁸¹ This has compelled the G8, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and numerous international governmental and non-governmental organizations to continue to set forth commitments on the issue, and recognizing the special case of HIV/AIDS in Africa, to target the majority of these efforts toward events occurring on the continent.

Background

In recent years, greater attention by the G8 has been paid towards African development and combating infectious diseases, with initiatives specific to fighting HIV/AIDS. Beginning in Genoa in 2001 with the endorsement of the newly created Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, of which the majority of recipients are African states, and the adoption of the African Action Plan (AAP)¹⁸² in support of NEPAD at Kananaskis in 2002, the G8 has adopted objectives to support African initiatives on the issue, and health promotion in general. There continued to be such collective commitments at the Evian (2003) and Sea Island (2004) Summits. At Evian, there was agreement on strengthening the Global Fund, assisting in African efforts to build sustainable health systems and to increase health research and dialogue on improving access to critical medicines including antiretrovirals.¹⁸³ However, little was achieved at Evian on the issues of intellectual property rights and the distribution of medicines for HIV/AIDS among other highly infectious diseases.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ Key trends include: the prevalence of HIV/AIDS staying relatively steady at lower levels in West and Central Africa than the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and the slight decline in HIV among pregnant women in East Africa. "AIDS Epidemic Update, December 2004," UNAIDS and the World Health Organization (Geneva), December 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004. <www.unaids.org/wad2004/EPI_1204_pdf_en/EpiUpdate04_en.pdf>.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² The G8 Africa Action Plan, which sets out how G8 members would support African nations in support of NEPAD, stipulates G8 commitments to providing support for African efforts in combating infectious diseases, including HIV/AIDS. See "G8 Africa Action Plan (Part VI, Section 6.1)," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: w January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

¹⁸³ "G8 Plan of Action: Health," Evian Summit 2003 Document (Evian), 2 June 2003. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2003evian/health_en.html>.

¹⁸⁴ Talks on issues of generic drugs and trade-related intellectual property rights were differed to the WTO Cancun Ministerial in 2003. For more information on commitments made at Evian on the issue of access of less developed countries to critical medicines, see the "Evian Summit Document on Health (Evian)." Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2003evian/health_en.html>.

Commitments set forth at Sea Island, proved to be more ambitious, with the leaders of the G8, in collaboration with Presidents of Algeria, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, and Uganda, setting forth a Global HIV Vaccine Enterprise, “a virtual consortium to accelerate HIV vaccine development by enhancing coordination, information sharing, and collaboration globally.”¹⁸⁵ Although these were ambitious commitments, there were also drawbacks to initiatives targeted at the disease. These included the lack of adequate funding for the Global Fund, as indicated in the commitment by G8 member countries of only US\$3.2 billion in the past three years, an amount which falls far short of the United Nation’s (UN) goal of raising US\$10 billion per annum.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, in November it was announced that, due to funding short falls, the next funding round of the Fund will be delayed for two months, until September 2005. Therefore, the Fund is assured only one quarter of the amount that it needs for 2005.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, although G8 countries have individually pledged funds to other initiatives that address the HIV/AIDS issue in Africa, financing for the AIDS response still does not meet the amount needed to sufficiently address the problem.¹⁸⁸

The President of the United States Emergency Plan for Aids Relief

The United States, as one the largest donors of 2004, continues to pledge funds, as part of its five-year, US\$15 billion plan, toward efforts to combat HIV/AIDS in more than 100 countries. According to Randall Tobias, the United States Global AIDS Ambassador, the US places a “special emphasis” on 15 countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and now Asia, with the recent inclusion of Vietnam; these areas constituting almost half of the world’s HIV-infected population.¹⁸⁹

In the past year, the United States pledged US\$2.24 billion to global HIV/AIDS initiatives for the 2004 fiscal year,¹⁹⁰ but its overall program, known as the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, faces criticism for setting its own agenda, rather than responding to country priorities. The Bush administration was recently criticized by US Senator Hillary Clinton for placing too much emphasis on abstinence, rather than contraceptives, in fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa. She claims that it has placed restrictions on women’s access to reproductive

¹⁸⁵ “G8 Action to Endorse and Establish a Global HIV Vaccine Enterprise,” Sea Island, 8 June 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/hiv.html>.

¹⁸⁶ “Implementation Report by Africa Personal Representatives to Leaders on the G8 Africa Action Plan,” (Evian) 1 June 2003. Date of Access: 20 December 2004. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2003evian/apr030601.html>

¹⁸⁷ “Paying the Price: Why rich countries must invest now in a war on poverty: Oxfam Poverty Report,” Oxfam International, 4 December 2004. Date of Access: 30 December 2004. <www.oxfam.org/eng/pr041206_MDG.htm>..

¹⁸⁸ “Financing the Response to AIDS,” UNAIDS and the World Health Organization 2004 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic (Geneva), December 2004. Date of Access: 31 December 2004. <www.unaids.org/bangkok2004/GAR2004_html/GAR2004_10_en.htm#P1227_268579>.

¹⁸⁹ Tully, Andrew. “U.S.: Government Champions Its Efforts Against AIDS, But Critics Call For Greater Commitment,” 2 December 2004, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 31 December 2004. Also, please see, Ambassador Randall L. Tobias’ “Remarks on the Five-Year Strategy for the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief,” accessible at, <www.state.gov>.

¹⁹⁰ “The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief,” Office of the United States Global AIDS Coordinator (Washington), 23 February 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <www.state.gov/documents/organization/29831.pdf>, p. 85

health services by cutting funding to clinics that provide abortions.¹⁹¹ The plan also faces criticism for putting ideological constraints on prevention dollars, and refusing to pay for generic medicines that have not received approval from the US Food and Drug Administration, which was made clear by activists, government officials, and global leaders at the International AIDS Conference in Bangkok, Thailand in July 2004.¹⁹² In terms of the allocation of funds from this five-year US\$15 billion initiative to the Global Fund, the US has pledged US\$547 million in the past year. Furthermore, the United States plans to pledge more funds to its global HIV/AIDS initiatives in the 2005 fiscal year,¹⁹³ with a budget request of US\$1.1 billion for the 15 focus countries.¹⁹⁴

HIV/AIDS Research, Education and Treatment

On the issue of HIV/AIDS research, President Bush announced in June 2004, plans to develop a second HIV Vaccine Research and Development Center, to accompany the one already existing at the US National Institutes of Health.¹⁹⁵ Bush pledged US\$488 million in fiscal year (FY) 2004 for the Center, which will become a key component of the Global HIV Vaccine Enterprise, as well as for vaccine research itself. The White House has already requested US\$533 million in FY2005 fiscal year in further funding for HIV vaccine research.¹⁹⁶ Progress on the front of HIV vaccine research will perhaps be better revealed in 2005.

Other G8 countries have also made commitments in the area of HIV/AIDS education, prevention, and treatment. Canada passed Bill C-9, also known as *the Jean Chrétien Pledge to Africa*, which implements a decision made on 30 August 2003 by member countries of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and Public Health to waive certain trade obligations that had prevented the distribution of lower-cost patented medicines, including those for HIV/AIDS patients, to less developed countries. Bill C-9 makes Canada the first of the G8 countries to implement such legislation on the WTO decision.¹⁹⁷ However, there remain criticisms of the WTO decision, including its exceptions,

¹⁹¹ "Africa: U.S. President Chided for Reproductive And Aids Policies," UN Integrated Regional Information Networks. allAfrica.com. 13 January 2005. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <allAfrica.com/stories/200501130561.html>.

¹⁹² "International AIDS Conference Roundup: Excerpts," Reproduced from the Global Fund Observer Newsletter, a service of Aidspan. Issue 30, 16 July 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <www.africafocus.org/docs04/acc0407a.php>.

¹⁹³ "The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief," Office of the United States Global AIDS Coordinator (Washington), 23 February 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <www.state.gov/documents/organization/29831.pdf>, p. 83.

¹⁹⁴ "Bringing Hope and Saving Lives: Building Sustainable HIV/AIDS Treatment, The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief Report on Current Activities Underway to Expand Treatment for HIV/AIDS," Office of the United States Global AIDS Coordinator, August 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.state.gov/documents/organization/36287.pdf>, p. 28 (Appendix).

¹⁹⁵ Tully, Andrew.

¹⁹⁶ "Fact Sheet: U.S.-EU Summit: Fighting the Challenge of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic," The White House (Washington D.C.) Date of Access: 1 February 2005 <www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/06/20040626-9.html>

¹⁹⁷ "Government of Canada Seeks Public Input on Regulations Complementing Bill C-9," The Jean Chrétien Pledge to Africa, Canada Newswire (Ottawa) 12 October 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <www.newswire.ca/fgov/en/releases/archive/October2004/12/c9212.html>.

vagueness and challenges from affected pharmaceutical industries, all of which have impeded other G8 countries in making substantial movements like Canada in adopting similar legislation.¹⁹⁸

Commission for Africa and HIV/AIDS

Notable as well is the work of the United Kingdom in addressing HIV/AIDS and primary health in Africa, among other broader issues of poverty reduction and growth as stipulated in the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The needs of Africa take priority in Prime Minister Tony Blair's presidency of the European Union in the latter half of 2005 and at the upcoming G8 summit in Gleneagles in July 2005, recognizing that HIV/AIDS is one of the major impediments to progress and sustainable development in Africa.¹⁹⁹ The formation of the Commission for Africa in 2004, initiated by Blair, proposes action, in congruence with NEPAD and the African Union toward combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It urges the international community to "[provide] necessary funding for the fight against HIV/AIDS, with rapid and substantial funding for existing initiatives, such as the Global Fund, and [to provide] antiretroviral treatment through strengthened health systems to meet the global World Health Organization '3 by 5' target" ('3 by 5' is a global goal to provide three million people living with HIV/AIDS in developing and middle income countries with life-prolonging antiretroviral treatment (ART) by the end of 2005.)²⁰⁰ However, the effectiveness of the Commission for Africa on the issue of HIV/AIDS has yet to be seen.

The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

As for other European countries, France continues to be a strong supporter of the Global Fund as the second greatest contributor of the G8 states.²⁰¹ France also initiated its own program, the *Ensemble pour une Solidarité Thérapeutique Hospitalière en Réseau* (ESTHER) to support the South in its battle against HIV/AIDS.²⁰² Germany continues to recognize the pervasive problem of HIV/AIDS in Africa, while acknowledging the alarming spread of the disease in East Asia and Eastern Europe. It contributes approximately €300 million a year to the various HIV/AIDS

¹⁹⁸ Bizet, Jean. "Cancun Session of the Parliamentary Conference on the WTO, The TRIPS Agreement and Public Health," (Cancun), September 2003. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <www.ipu.org/splz-e/cancun/5b.pdf>.

¹⁹⁹ "Prime Minister Tony Blair's Speech on Africa on 7 October 2004 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia". Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <www.g8.gov.uk>.

²⁰⁰ "Action for a Strong and Prosperous Africa Consultation Document," Secretariat to the Commission for Africa (London), November 2004. Date of Access: 30 December 2004. <www.commissionforafrica.org/getting_involved/Consultation%20Documents/CFAConsultationDocumentNov2004.doc>, p. 9-10.

²⁰¹ "The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, Pledges," The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Geneva), 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²⁰² "Supporting the South in its battle against HIV/AIDS (Ensemble pour une Solidarité Thérapeutique Hospitalière en Réseau — ESTHER)," News article posted on the Republic of France Prime Minister's site (Paris), 19 January 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.premier-ministre.gouv.fr/en/information/latest_news_97/supporting_the_south_in_50209.html>.

causes,²⁰³ and pledges to step up its 2005 contribution to the Global Fund to US\$108 million from its 2004 donation of about US\$50 million. This would make it the fourth largest contributor to the Fund.²⁰⁴ Japan too provided significant amounts to the Fund, about US\$105 million in 2004.²⁰⁵ Italy and Russia, however, fall behind the other G8 countries in contributing to the Global Fund.²⁰⁶ Despite Italy's pledge to donate US\$135,685,210 to the Fund none of this money has yet been received.²⁰⁷ For Russia's part, although their contribution has been provided in full, the actual dollar amount pledged has to date been set at a meager US\$2.5 million.²⁰⁸ An overall European strategy emphasizing the need to tackle HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases outside of the European Union will be presented this year to the European Council in a European Commission Report.²⁰⁹

The Okinawa Infectious Diseases Initiative, the Global Fund and Japan

HIV/AIDS issues in general are not yet on the mainstream policy agenda in Japan, as the country accords greater attention to foreign policy endeavors dealing with humanitarian and reconstruction efforts in Iraq. In addition, however, Japan has contributed significantly to the Global Fund. Japan is the fourth largest G8 contributor to the Global Fund having pledged US\$104,726,233 of which US\$86,126,233 has already been paid in.²¹⁰ The country has also pledged a total of US\$3 million under the Okinawa Infectious Diseases Initiative for the five-year term from 2000 to 2004 in a comprehensive approach to fight infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and polio.²¹¹

NEPAD Involvement

NEPAD has accorded greater recognition to the severity of the HIV/AIDS problem in Africa in its 2004 Annual Progress Report, recognizing the disease as the "most urgent challenge" [Africa]

²⁰³ "Statement issued by Federal Minister Fischer of Germany on the eve of World AIDS Day of the United Nations 1 December (Berlin)," Government of Germany (Berlin), 30 November 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/ausgabe_archiv?archiv_id=6526>.

²⁰⁴ "Germany More Than Doubles Pledge to Global Fund for 2005," Daily HIV/AIDS Report, courtesy of Kaiser Network (Washington, DC, USA), 3 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <allafrica.com/stories/200412030775.html>.

²⁰⁵ "The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, Pledges," The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Geneva), 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²⁰⁶ "The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, Pledges," The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Geneva), 1 December 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²⁰⁷ "The Global Funds to fight Tuberculosis, Malaria and AIDS- Contributions to Date," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ "HIV/AIDS Major Obstacle to Global Development," EuropaWorld, 26 November 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.europaworld.org/week202/hiv/aid261104.htm>.

²¹⁰ "The Global Funds to fight Tuberculosis, Malaria and AIDS- Contributions to Date," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²¹¹ "Japan's Response to the Spread of HIV/AIDS," Japan Centre for International Exchange, (Tokyo) 2004. Date of Access: 10 January 2005. <www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/pdfs/hiv.pdf>.

face[s] and therefore, will “continue to receive special attention.”²¹² However, NEPAD continues to be criticized for its overall progress,²¹³ and for its lack of substantial commitment and action on the issue of HIV/AIDS. Although it recognizes that “AIDS is a crucial element in NEPAD’s agriculture and education strategies,” and states that “this year will see a more concerted effort on this front,”²¹⁴ NEPAD continues to pay less attention to the important relationship of the pandemic to stability and conflict on the continent. While the disease contributes to further instability and conflict in Africa, violent conflict in turn, also creates conditions favorable to the disease’s spread. NEPAD must play a greater role in proposing and encouraging more comprehensive and integrated efforts which make the security sector an important focus in their overall AIDS strategy.²¹⁵

Conclusion

The G8 Gleneagles Summit will provide the opportunity to dedicate greater attention to the particular case of HIV/AIDS in Africa, provided the G8 member countries engage in substantial follow-up to the commitments made at Sea Island, including the June pledge to research an HIV Vaccine (at present, the Sea Island Summit has received an interim compliance score of +0.22, on a scale of –1 to +1, in meeting with the commitments reached at last year’s summit).²¹⁶ In addition, G8 countries must strengthen support for the Global Fund which is more flexible in terms of supporting individual African national plans, rather than placing a strict allocation formula for each country to which the funds are provided. Moreover, the G8 should further discuss the issue of Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) in relation to antiretroviral drugs and the adoption in member countries of policies related to the 2003 WTO decision. In general, the G8 must continue to address important development issues specific to Africa such as poverty, peace and security, concurrently with discussions on HIV/AIDS in order to adequately confront the disease.

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²¹² “New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) Annual Report 2003/2004,” (Addis Ababa), 16 November 2004. Date of Access: 30 December 2004. <www.nepad.org/documents/165.pdf>, p. 19.

²¹³ “Africa’s big plan ‘disappointing,’” 22 October 2004. Date of Access: 1 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3945795.stm>.

²¹⁴ NEPAD Annual Report, see above.

²¹⁵ “HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue in Africa: Lessons from Uganda,” 16 April 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <www.icg.org/home/index.cfm?id=2606&l=1>.

²¹⁶ “2004 Sea Island Interim Compliance Results January 2005,” G8 Research Group, University of Toronto — Professor John Kirton, Dr. Ella Kokotsis, 31 January 2005.

Health in Africa: Tuberculosis, Polio and Malaria

Infectious and parasitic diseases are now viewed as serious obstacles to social and economic growth. They hinder many aspects of society and tend to prey on the most impoverished of peoples already heavily burdened with the struggle to create better lives for themselves and their children. Three of the most devastating diseases are HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and Malaria. The number one leading cause of death in Africa is HIV/AIDS.²¹⁷ A major cause of death in people infected with HIV/AIDS is Tuberculosis (infecting one third of the world's HIV population) with more than 1.5 million cases occurring across Sub-Saharan Africa annually.²¹⁸ Also contributing to the death toll in Africa is malaria. Ninety percent of the one million deaths worldwide that occur from malaria per annum transpire in Africa.²¹⁹ That is equivalent to 3,000 deaths, mostly among children, each day. Furthermore, polio remains a highly precarious risk across the African Continent, although seemingly eradicated throughout the majority of the world. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), as of December 2004, 748 cases currently exist in Nigeria, 22 in Niger and 1 in Egypt.

Background

Since their first meeting in 1975, the heads of state of the major industrialized democracies that comprise the G8 have been discussing the world economy; for decades, however, Africa and its incredible issues of disease, immense poverty, famine and war seemed buried under the subheadings of annual Communiqués. It was not until 1997 at the Denver summit under articles 31 through 34 of the Communiqué that HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases were given more attention.²²⁰ The G8 countries committed to additional work with the WHO and the United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) through greater coordination efforts, the provision of resources and individual country assurances.

At the Okinawa Summit in 2000 infectious and parasitic diseases were recognized as being among the main factors responsible for reversing decades of development and stifling future chances for positive change and growth.²²¹ In 2001 at Genoa, a Genoa Plan for Africa was made and each of the G8 countries designated a representative to liaise with African Leaders in the establishment of a tangible Action Plan to become official at the summit the following year.²²² Also at Genoa in association with the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Global Fund

²¹⁷ "Fighting AIDS," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.theglobalfund.org/en/about/aids/default.asp>.

²¹⁸ "Fighting Tuberculosis," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.theglobalfund.org/en/about/tuberculosis/>.

²¹⁹ "Fighting Malaria," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.theglobalfund.org/en/about/malaria/>.

²²⁰ "Communiqué," Denver Summit of the Eight (Denver), 22 June 1997. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/1997denver/g8final.htm>.

²²¹ "G8 Communiqué Okinawa," The Government of Japan (Okinawa), July 23, 2000. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2000okinawa/finalcom.htm>.

²²² "Genoa Plan for Africa," Genoa Summit, 21 July 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2001genoa/africa.html>.

to combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and TB was launched.²²³ Since then each of the G8 countries has individually pledged hundreds of millions of dollars to the Fund, as well as coordinated with international governmental and non-governmental organizations and Industry (including pharmaceutical companies) to better research and increase access to more affordable drugs. The following table shows the most recent figures of G8 country contributions in 2004.

The Global Fund — G8 Country Contributions in 2004 (in USD)²²⁴

	Amount Pledged	Amount Contributed			Not Yet Paid
		Paid In	In Process	Total	
Canada	50,000,000	50,005,529		50,005,529	
France	203,527,815	203,527,815			
Germany	45,944,850	45,944,850		45,944,850	
Italy	135,685,210				135,685,210
Japan	104,726,233	86,126,233	18,600,000	104,726,233	
Russia	2,500,000	2,500,000		2,500,000	
UK	60,333,210	60,333,210		60,333,210	
U.S.	458,881,279	458,881,279		458,881,279	

The G8 countries do however remain strong supporters of Intellectual Property Rights and the Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) agreement, which is seen by many as a contributor to the inaccessibility and high cost of obtaining the necessary drugs to combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and TB.

The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

At present, much of the early optimism surrounding the Global Fund has faded. According to the Health Global Access Project (HGAP) and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) the Global Fund is on the verge of bankruptcy as donor countries fail to provide their share of the minimum US\$3.5 billion.²²⁵ In 2005, the Fund needs to finance renewals of currently approved grants as well as set in motion new funding rounds. The Global Fund's current list of Pledges and Contributions states that Japan and Italy do not intend to increase their funding in 2005 and that the United States has reduced its own funding by 64% to a mere US\$200 million for 2005. HGAP reports that the US's proportionate contribution to the Fund in 2005 would be US\$1.2 billion.²²⁶ Furthermore, by the end of 2004 the US had cut US\$69 million from its 2004 contribution²²⁷

²²³ "Communiqué," Genoa Summit, 22 July 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2001genoa/finalcommunique.html>.

²²⁴ "The Global Funds to fight Tuberculosis, Malaria and AIDS- Contributions to Date," The Global Fund. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls>.

²²⁵ "Press Statement: "Compassionate" Pres. Bush Slashes 2004 Global AIDS Fund contribution \$69 Million cut from US Contribution would treat 25,000 HIV Positive People facing Death, Prevent 100,000 New Infections," Health Gap: Global Access Project, 13 October 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.healthgap.org/press_releases/04/101304_HGAP_PR_GFATM_Tobias_funds.html>.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

Many argue that the United States is destabilizing the Global Fund with its unilateral President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.²²⁸ It seems the US is choosing to ignore the global effort to combat AIDS/HIV, Malaria and TB thus undermining the best example of international cooperation to fight disease. The Bush Administration also forced the postponement of the 5th round of grants from the Global Fund until March 2005 which will inevitably delay the release of funding.²²⁹

More importantly many argue that the G8 countries are protecting the pharmaceutical companies within their countries. Representatives of MSF point out that while donations are needed, changes in copy right laws are essential.²³⁰ Reuters reported that at current prices a developing country would pay US\$1,500 a year to treat one HIV-infected person using the brand name drugs presently provided. However, generic drugs would cost as little as US\$300 a year.²³¹ It can be easily argued that much of the financial contributions the G8 countries are making towards medicines in Africa are being returned to their own companies, especially among European and US pharmaceutical companies.

There have also been doubts about the G8 countries' ability to achieve their Okinawa Targets by 2010 in the reduction of the occurrence rates of HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria in Africa.²³² The G8 countries have also signed onto the WHO's and UNAIDS plan to provide AIDS drugs to 3 million people in developing countries by 2005.²³³ This task seems daunting considering that by mid 2004 only 400,000 people had received the necessary medicines.²³⁴

Polio Immunization and Eradication

In June 2002, at Kananaskis, the G8 took a serious step towards the eradication of polio by putting it on the summit agenda. It was acknowledged that preventing polio and its debilitating effects would aid in poverty reduction by giving children and families the opportunity to live more healthy and productive lives. The goal was to rid Africa of polio by 2005 and the G8 countries pledged to provide the necessary funding to implement polio eradication activities in Africa.²³⁵ This commitment was immediately followed through by Canada and the UK, who also

²²⁸ "PEPFAR, Bush's Plan to Combat Global AIDS, Does More Harm than Good," Citizens for Global Solutions. 27 October, 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.globalsolutions.org/programs/health_environment/latest_news/PEPFAR.html>.

²²⁹ "US Sabotages Global AIDS Relief Efforts," Health Gap: Global Access Project, 18 November 2004. Date of Access: 20 January, 2005. <www.healthgap.org/press_releases/04/111804_HGAP_PR_GFATM_round5.html>.

²³⁰ "The Independent: Billions for war on Aids will go to drug firms, say activists," Campaign for Access to Essential Medicines, 3 June 2003. Date of Access: 20 January, 2005. <www.accessmed-msf.org/prod/publications.asp?scentid=3620031342147&contenttype=PARA&>.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² "G8 Communiqué Okinawa," The Government of Japan (Okinawa), July 23, 2000. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2000okinawa/finalcom.htm>.

²³³ "Treat 3 Million by 2005," UNAIDS. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.unaids.org/en/treat+3+million+by+2005+initiative.asp>.

²³⁴ Darren Schuettler. "Drug Access, Asia Threat in Focus at AIDS Summit," Reuters, 22 March 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.hivdent.org/publicp/inter/ppinDAAT032004.htm>.

²³⁵ "G8 Agrees African Action Plan," BBC News, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/2069632.stm>.

contributed an additional US\$32 million and US\$25 million respectively.²³⁶ The commitment to fight polio has been reaffirmed in subsequent summit meetings in Evian (2003) and Sea Island (2004).

The result of G8 actions toward the eradication of polio is evident in the number of annual cases of the disease, which has dropped from 350,000 in 1988 to 784 in 2003.²³⁷ However, optimism surrounding the success of the G8's initiatives was overshadowed in March 2004 when Canada pledged an additional US\$9.7 million to increased polio eradication activities in the wake of an outbreak of polio spreading from Nigeria into formerly polio-free areas of west and central Africa.²³⁸ By June 2004 epidemiologists warned that "west and central Africa is on the brink of the largest polio epidemic in recent years."²³⁹ The country of Sudan had not seen an incident of polio in three years, but on May 20 2004 in the region of Darfur, which is experiencing violent civil unrest, it was confirmed that a child had been paralyzed from the disease.²⁴⁰ Most distressingly throughout 2004, in west and central Africa, five times as many children were paralyzed by polio than in a similar period in 2003.²⁴¹ It, therefore, seems unlikely that the goal of eradicating polio by 2005 will be achieved.

The Global Polio Eradication Initiative

Since its establishment in 1988, the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI), spearheaded by the World Health Organization, Rotary International and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, has received more than US\$3 billion in funding.²⁴² The initiative's efforts have helped polio disappear from multiple continents to the point where the disease today is endemic in only six countries: Nigeria, India, Pakistan, Niger, Afghanistan and Egypt. Immunization is the only effective method of eliminating polio as no cure exists for the disease.²⁴³ The coalition for polio eradication also includes governments of affected countries; private sector foundations (e.g. United Nations Foundation, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation); development banks; donor governments; the European Commission; humanitarian and nongovernmental organizations and corporate partners.

²³⁶ "The History," The Global Polio Eradication Initiative. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.polioeradication.org/history.asp>.

²³⁷ "Polio Partners Commend G8 for the Continued support to Polio Eradication," The Polio Eradication Initiative, Geneva and New York, 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.polioeradication.org/content/pressreleases/20040611_press.pdf>.

²³⁸ "Canada Provides Additional Funding to the Final Assault against Polio," The Polio Eradication Initiative, Geneva and New York, 11 March 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.polioeradication.org/content/pressreleases/20040311press.htm>.

²³⁹ "Polio Experts warn of Largest Epidemic in Recent Years, as Polio Hits Darfur," The Polio Eradication Initiative, Geneva, 22 June 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.polioeradication.org/content/pressreleases/20042106_press.pdf>.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² "Who are the key donors of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative?" The Global Polio Eradication Initiative (Geneva) 2004. Date of Access: 27 December 2005 <www.polioeradication.org/poliodonors.asp>.

²⁴³ "German Assistance for Polio Eradication," Deutsche Botschaft (New Delhi) November 2004. Date of Access: 12 January 2005 <www.germanembassy-india.org/en/germannews04/nov/pg11.html>.

Nevertheless, at the time of the Sea Island Summit last year the GPEI was experiencing a severe funding crisis and was considering scaling back or canceling its immunization efforts for 2004-2005. Fortunately at the Summit, G8 countries pledged to close the funding gap in the GPEI budget, which stood at US\$200 million for the 2004-2005 year, and to ensure the continuation of its programming until the end of 2005. As of February 2005, the funding gap has been closed to the degree that the first-half of the GPEI's 2005 operations have been secured. This achievement was made possible by generous subsequent donations, beyond core funding, from the G8 member states of the UK, Russia, Canada and the European Commission, as well as the non-G8 states of Spain, Malaysia, Ireland, and Luxemburg, along with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the OPEC Fund. Nevertheless, there remains a US\$75 million dollar funding gap for the GPEI operations in the latter half of 2005 that remains unaccounted for.²⁴⁴

The G8 are expected to release a G8 Plan of Action for Polio at the upcoming Gleneagles Summit that will deal with this remaining funding gap as well as the still remaining US\$200 million funding gap for the GPEI's 2006 operations.

Conclusion

The commitment of the G8 countries to fighting AIDS and other infectious diseases has come under criticism for their failure to fulfill commitments previously made, as well as the absence of the AIDS issue on the agenda as a primary item at the 2004 Sea Island Summit. Furthermore, their failure to meet other commitments in the development agenda, such as debt relief and access to basic education could have a negative impact on their ability to reach reduction goals for HIV/AIDS infection.

Many members of civil society argue that the G8 countries need to fully fund The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, in order to meet their commitments to combat these diseases and, moreover, if the Fund is to have any success in effectively eradicating infectious diseases in Africa.

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²⁴⁴ "Additional funding requirements for polio immunization campaigns in polio endemic and high-risk African countries for 2005," The Global Polio Eradication Initiative (Geneva), 22 January 2005. Date of Access: 6 February 2005 <www.polioeradication.org/fundingbackground.asp>.

Conflict Prevention in Africa

At the Kananaskis Summit in 2002, the G8 leaders developed the Africa Action Plan (AAP) in order to tackle poverty and establish peace and security in Africa, through commitments relating to conflict prevention, management, and resolution. Although the focus has largely been put on conflict management, commitments were also made in regard to conflict prevention.

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

Through the AAP, the G8 countries committed to assisting “with programmes of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration [DDR]” and “to eliminat[ing] the flow of illicit weapons to and within Africa.”²⁴⁵ Canada and Japan have been especially active in complying with these pledges. Since 2002, Canada has provided “more than CAD\$17 million for peace building through the [DDR] of former combatants; community-based initiatives involving women and children; and related child-protection work” in Africa.²⁴⁶

Japan also supports DDR programmes and the elimination of the trade of illicit weapons through the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). In April 2003, it appointed an Ambassador in Charge of Conflict and Refugee-related Issues in Africa.²⁴⁷ In March 2004, Japan donated US\$3.64 million to the UNICEF “for its [DDR] Program for Children Associated with the Fighting Forces in Liberia,”²⁴⁸ after having made a similar donation to the DRC in October 2003.²⁴⁹

United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa

France, in turn, has contributed to conflict prevention in Africa by helping with the financing of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC).²⁵⁰ However, in its last report, UNREC said that only US\$2,608 remained in its Trust Fund: a clear indication of insufficient funding.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ “G8 Africa Action Plan,” G8, Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

²⁴⁶ “Canada Implements the G8 Africa Action Plan: Delivering on Commitments, One Year Later,” Government of Canada, May 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.g8.gc.ca/att-en.asp>.

²⁴⁷ “Chapter 2- Regional Diplomacy,” Government of Japan TICAD. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2004/chap2-g.pdf>.

²⁴⁸ “Emergency Grant Aid for the Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) Program for Children Associated with the Fighting Forces in Liberia by the United Nations Children’s Fund,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, MOFA, 19 March 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2004/3/0319-6.html>.

²⁴⁹ “Grant Aid for the Program for Support of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, MOFA, 31 October 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2003/10/1031-2.html>.

²⁵⁰ “La France partenaire du NEPAD — Plan d’action pour l’Afrique,” G8 Evian Summit, 2 June 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.g8.fr/evian/items/data/pdf/nepad_2003_fr.pdf>.

²⁵¹ “Review and implementation of the Concluding Document of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly: United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa: Report of the Secretary General,” UNREC, 5 August 2004. Date of Access: 21 January 2005. <www.unrec.org/eng/A_59_209_Eng.pdf>.

Trade in Conflict Goods

At Kananaskis, in 2002, the G8 also pledged to “address the linkage between armed conflict and the exploitation of natural resources.”²⁵² The most significant step that has been taken to eliminate trade in conflict goods is the G8’s ratification of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme, which aims to rid the diamond industry of conflict diamonds.²⁵³ This process has had only moderate success. Critics say that it lacks transparency, as compliance is voluntary and self-regulated by the diamond industry.²⁵⁴ Russia, the new chair of the Kimberley Process, made some progress recently by declassifying its diamond production data.²⁵⁵ However, it has been criticized for its unwillingness to “say when information on the extraction and sale of platinum-group metals would be declassified.”²⁵⁶

Landmines

Progress on the elimination of landmines has also been made since Kananaskis, when the G8 pledged to support African efforts in this respect.²⁵⁷ Canada promised to add CAD\$72 million to its Canadian Landmine Fund between 2003 and 2008,²⁵⁸ while the European Union (EU) will give €140 million between 2005 and 2007 for the same cause.²⁵⁹ Although Russia and the US have yet to ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personal Mines and on Their Destruction (Ottawa Treaty)²⁶⁰ they are not believed to be involved in the trade of such weapons.²⁶¹

²⁵² “G8 Africa Action Plan,” Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

²⁵³ “List of Participants,” Kimberley Process. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.kimberleyprocess.com:8080/site/?name=participants&PHPSESSID=24ae976cd33882e06bd00d83502efe1b>.

²⁵⁴ “Déjà vu: Diamond Industry Still Failing to Deliver on Promises,” Amnesty International, Global Witness, October 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/diamond/2004/1004dejavu.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ “Controlling Diamonds,” Washington Post, 29 November 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A18821-2004Nov28.html>.

²⁵⁶ “The Russian Finance Ministry hopes that the statistics on mining and selling rough diamonds will be declassified sometime in November,” Interfax News Agency (Moscow), 29 October 2004.

²⁵⁷ “G8 Africa Action Plan,” Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

²⁵⁸ “Canada’s Support for Mine Action,” Foreign Affairs Canada, 5 August 2005. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.mines.gc.ca/IV/menu-en.asp>.

²⁵⁹ “Commission pledges €140 million to help eliminate the threat of anti-personnel land mines,” EUROPA (Brussels), 2 December 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/mine/news/ip04_1436.htm>.

²⁶⁰ “First Review Conference of the States Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personal Mines and on Their Destruction: Final Report,” The Nairobi Summit on a Mine-Free World (Nairobi), 8 December, 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.reviewconference.org/pdf/RC_Final_Report_unofficial_version.pdf>.

²⁶¹ “Draft Review of the Operation and Status of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personal Mines and on Their Destruction,” The Nairobi Summit on a Mine-Free World (Nairobi), 8 November 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.
<www.reviewconference.org/pdf/draft/Draft_Review_8Nov04.pdf>.

Peace Support Operations

At the Evian Summit, in 2003, early building blocks were identified to enhance Africa's capacity to undertake Peace Support Operations. Two of them were related to conflict prevention: "the establishment of [early warning] centres," and "the development of institutional capacities at the continental and regional level to prevent conflict."²⁶² In this respect, Japan committed about US\$2 million in 2003 for the "Integrated Regional Information networks (IRIN) Outreach Radio Project."²⁶³ Canada, through its Canada Fund for Africa, is also supporting programs meant to improve the African Union's (AU) early warning system.²⁶⁴ Meanwhile, EU leaders issued a statement, following the EU-Africa Ministerial meeting in April 2004, in which they expressed support for the AU's plan to create an Early Warning System.²⁶⁵ The German government, for its part, has responded positively to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's Conflict Early Warning and Response (CEWARN) Mechanism to deal with conflicts fought over natural resources in the Horn of Africa.²⁶⁶ Germany also recently made many pledges to contribute to conflict prevention internationally, but one specific pledge that it made toward Africa was to help the African Union and other African governmental organizations to build crisis prevention institutions.²⁶⁷ The commitments made at the Sea Island Summit in June 2004 continued the trend initiated at the Evian Summit of focusing on peacekeeping operations rather than conflict prevention. This trend is reflected in Italy's contribution to the peace and security agenda, which consists primarily of peacekeeping-related initiatives.²⁶⁸

Conclusion

In February 2004, Tony Blair launched the Commission for Africa (CFA) in order to "generate action for a strong and prosperous Africa."²⁶⁹ The recommendations made at the CFA conferences were often reiterations of previous G8 commitments such as requests for an early warning system for conflict prevention, eliminating the illicit trade of arms, establishing a "common definition of conflict goods", and supporting the Publish What you Pay system.²⁷⁰ Thus, even

²⁶² "Implementation Report By Africa Personal Representatives to Leaders on the G8 Africa Action Plan," 2003 G8 Summit in Evian-les-Bains Website (Evian), 1 June 2003. Date of Access: 31 January 2005.

<www.g8.fr/evian/english/navigation/2003_g8_summit/summit_documents.html>.

²⁶³ "Assistance for Information Communication in Vulnerable Communities in Afghanistan and Nine Countries in Africa," Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, MOFA. 20 March 2003. Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2003/3/0320.html>.

²⁶⁴ Council on Foreign Relations. "Freedom, Prosperity and Security, the G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond". May 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/cfr0405.pdf>.

²⁶⁵ "Communiqué, EU-Africa Ministerial Meeting," EUROPA (Dublin), 1 April 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <europa.eu.int/comm/development/body/eu_africa/docs/communication1_040401_en.pdf>.

²⁶⁶ "Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building," Die Bundesregierung.

Action Plan (Berlin), December 2004. Date of Access: 20 January 2005. <www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/infoservice/download/pdf/friedenspolitik/AP_EN.pdf> At 46

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ "Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa." Italy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Date of access: 31 January 2005. <www.esteri.it/eng/4_27_55_32.asp>.

²⁶⁹ "Commission for Africa," Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

<www.commissionforafrica.org/commission/Commission.htm>.

²⁷⁰ Commission for Africa. "Addis Ababa Summary Notes on Peace and Security Discussions, 7 Oct. 2004." Date of Access: 20 January 2005.

though G8 countries have taken some positive steps to comply with the commitments they have made since 2002 much work remains to be done. Making sustainable conflict prevention initiatives a priority could not only lead to millions of lives being saved, but also to a decrease in the need to invest as heavily in managing conflicts and to a more prosperous future for Africa.

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<[www.commissionforafrica.org/2nd_meeting/Closed%20session%20\(summary%20note\)%20Peace%20and%20Security%202014%20Oct.doc](http://www.commissionforafrica.org/2nd_meeting/Closed%20session%20(summary%20note)%20Peace%20and%20Security%202014%20Oct.doc)>.

Peacekeeping in Africa

Currently, of the 16 peacekeeping operations under the aegis of the United Nations, 7 are in Africa and the need for more operations on the continent is increasing. For good reason, the G8 countries have realized the necessity of supporting peacekeeping initiatives in Africa and have pledged to make peace and security a top priority.

Background

At the Kananaskis Summit in 2002 the G8 leaders adopted the initiatives of the New Partnership for African Development, creating The Africa Action Plan (AAP), which introduced commitments to peacekeeping in Africa. In recent years, Western governments have cut back troop deployments for peacekeeping operations, preferring to support training and logistical initiatives. In 2002 G8 leaders continued this policy and promised to assist in the establishment of African-led peacekeeping operations by 2010.²⁷¹ Further, the G8 leaders pledged to help train peacekeepers by funding regional peace centres. These promises were reiterated at Evian in 2003.²⁷²

The 2004 Sea Island Summit continued the trends of the previous two Summits and put forward a more comprehensive vision for peacekeeping in Africa. The main pledge of the Sea Island Summit's Africa plan was to train and equip a force of 75 000 troops for peace support operations worldwide by 2010.²⁷³ The focus of this new force is to be on peacekeeping in Africa. G8 leaders also pledged to assist with the development of logistic support mechanisms in order to improve response times in emergency situations. Both of these goals are to be accomplished primarily by the establishment and funding of peace centres in Africa.²⁷⁴

Peace Training Facilities in Africa

Support from the international community has been encouraging, with the European Union (EU) leading donations for peace operations with a €250 million contribution to establish the Peace Facility for Africa. The Peace Facility will, upon completion, support the G8's goal of African-led peacekeeping as part of the security structure of the African Union.²⁷⁵

A more tangible development is the opening of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Ghana on 24 January 2004. The centre is to be a model for future regional

²⁷¹ "G8 Africa Action Plan," Kananaskis, 27 June 2002. Date of Access: 20 December 2005. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/africaplan.html>.

²⁷² "France, A Partner of NEPAD: An Action Plan for Africa," 2003 Evian Summit Official Website, 3 June 2003. Date of Access: 20 December 2004.

<www.g8.fr/evian/english/navigation/2003_g8_summit/summit_documents.html>.

²⁷³ "G8 Action Plan: Expanding Global Capability for Peace Support Operations," 2004 Sea Island Summit. 10 June 2004. Date of Access: 20 December 2004. <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/peace.html>.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ "Creation of a Peace Facility for Africa," European Union Official Website. 11 December 2003. Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12529.htm>.

training facilities and was paid for by donations from Western governments.²⁷⁶ The United Kingdom, Germany, Canada and Italy have contributed US\$7.8 million, US\$4.5 million, US\$2 million and US\$271,000, respectively.²⁷⁷ Japan and France have also made contributions to the Centre.²⁷⁸ The United States has pledged funds just under US\$1 million, but this has yet to be disbursed.²⁷⁹ These initiatives will certainly contribute to having peacekeeper-training initiatives in place prior to the 2005 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.

In addition, G8 nations also contribute to peacekeeping through avenues they have not committed to in G8 Action Plans. Thus, there is significant support for peacekeeping in Africa.²⁸⁰ However, some monies pledged by G8 leaders towards G8 initiatives are still pending. Following the Sea Island Summit, George W. Bush pledged US\$660 million for the training of peacekeepers but this money has since been held up in Congress and its delivery is now in jeopardy.²⁸¹ Furthermore, additional funds to those promised are required if the goals of a global peace-keeping force and African Union-operated regional deployment centres are to be realized by 2010.²⁸²

Commission for Africa

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, a staunch supporter of African initiatives, has launched the Commission for Africa which will issue reports on a number of issues in the Spring of 2005, including one on peace and security. The reports of the Commission are meant to coincide with the G8 summit in order to keep African Development a top priority.

The slow response to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan, however, illustrates that peacekeeping in Africa still lacks adequate financial and personnel resources. The G8 goal of African-led peace support operations has been met, but in a limited capacity. A total of 790 troops have been deployed to Sudan as part of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), with Germany and Canada helping to airlift many of those troops.²⁸³ More troops have been authorized, but they have not been deployed. It is hoped that the reports released by the Commission for Africa will draw attention to the inadequacy of current peacekeeping operations in Africa and that concrete measures will be taken at Gleneagles to rectify these shortcomings.

²⁷⁶ "Peacekeeper-Training Centre Opens in Ghana," CNN.com. 26 January 2004. Date of Access: 29 December 2004. <www.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/africa/01/24/ghana.germany.ap/>.

²⁷⁷ "Donors to the KAIPTC," Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. Date of Access: 6 January 2005. <www.kaiptc.org/kaiptc/donors.htm>.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ See "Freedom, Prosperity and Security," A Council on Foreign Relations Special Report. Available at <www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/cfr0405.pdf> for more information.

²⁸¹ Efron, Sonni. "Turf battle in Congress stalls plan for peace force," Los Angeles Times, 31 October 2004.

²⁸² De Capua, Joe. "Will the G8 Peacekeeping Plan succeed?," Voice Of America, 16 June 2004.

²⁸³ "Press Release on Protection Force Deployment," African Union, 23 December 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2004. <allafrica.com/stories/200412230183.html>.

Conclusion

Peacekeeping has made it onto the agendas of the G8 governments in the past and progress towards reaching set goals has been made. However, the vision of peacekeeping committed to at Sea Island is one of massive reform and as of yet only initial steps have been made towards reaching this vision.

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Humanitarian and Security Crisis in Sudan

The Government of Sudan rang in the New Year in Naivasha, Kenya with the December 31st signing of the last two of eight protocols in a peace accord that ends its twenty-one year civil war with the southern rebel group, Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). Harried by issues of oil and ethnicity, Africa's longest-running civil began in 1983 when the state tried to impose Islamic law on all Sudanese peoples. The SPLM of the mainly animist and Christian south consequently took up arms against the state in a show of resistance. The conflict has since claimed more than two million lives, with more than four million of the southern Sudanese displaced from their homes.²⁸⁴

But this is to say nothing of the conflict that rages on in the western region of Darfur, which has already claimed as many as 70,000 lives and displaced more than two million since its commencement in February 2003.²⁸⁵ The conflict in Darfur began after the region's newly-formed rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) began to put pressure on Khartoum in protest against the marginalization of African sedentary groups in the region. Khartoum responded with a counterinsurgency campaign by giving a carte-blanche to the region's nomadic Arab militias, such as the Janjaweed, to quell the uprisings. The result of the clash has been devastating. The United Nations (UN) has called it the "worst humanitarian crisis" in the world and the United States has been quick to condemn the conflict, naming it "genocide." With Khartoum still denying its sponsorship of the marauding Janjaweed and while the under-funded African Union (AU) sits on the sidelines with its limited mandate, it looks as if it is going to take more than just castigation from the international community to move Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir into action.

The G8 and Sudan

In their *G8 Statement on Sudan* at the Sea Island Summit in 2004, the G8 assured humanitarian assistance to those in need and affirmed their support for the "United Nations to lead the international effort to avert a major disaster," along with a pledge of support for the AU in its role in monitoring cease-fire agreements²⁸⁶. While generosity has varied from state to state,²⁸⁷ humanitarian aid has indeed flowed into Sudan from many of the G8 member states²⁸⁸. By the

²⁸⁴ William Maclean, "Darfur Casts Shadow Over Sudan Peace Pact in South," Reuters, 31 December, 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 <www.reuters.com/newsArticle.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=7216054>

²⁸⁵ "More African Troops Go To Darfur," BBC World News UK Edition (London), 16 December, 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4102613.stm>

²⁸⁶ "G8 Statement on Sudan," 2004 Sea Island Summit Official Website (Sea Island). Date of Access: 3 January 2005 <www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2004seaisland/sudan.html>.

²⁸⁷ For more specific detail on contributions please see "2004 Sea Island Interim Compliance Results (Draft of January 31, 2005)," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto, January.

²⁸⁸ According to the "2004 Sea Island Interim Compliance Report (Draft of January 31, 2005)" when it came to meeting their commitment to provide humanitarian aid as a group the G8 countries received a high compliance score of 0.88 on a scale from -1 to 1. "2004 Sea Island Interim Compliance Report (Draft of January 31, 2005)," G8 Research Group, University of Toronto. <www.g8.utoronto.ca>.

end of 2004 the European Union had pledged to donate €248 million;²⁸⁹ the United States US\$300 million;²⁹⁰ the United Kingdom £76.7 million;²⁹¹ Germany €33.5 million;²⁹² Canada CAD\$37 million;²⁹³ and Japan US\$21 million.²⁹⁴ But humanitarian assistance and foreign aid alone can only soften the blows of the crisis and in the case of the conflict in Darfur, has not even sufficed in allowing the AU to function effectively.

The AU has authorized three thousand troops to be sent to Darfur, but it has only been able to afford to send about one thousand.²⁹⁵ Its failure to monitor the cease-fire agreements, coupled with its inability to protect Darfuris, has led JEM to claim that it would accept nothing less than UN peacekeepers on the ground in Darfur before peace talks could resume.

The greatest pressure placed on Khartoum thus far comes from legislation signed by President George W. Bush in late-December, which will allow the United States to impose travel bans on Sudanese officials and the freezing of their assets and that of select Sudanese companies.²⁹⁶ At a time when the violence in the Darfur ceases to end, such unilateral initiatives can do little harm. Other initiatives include Germany's provision of military aircraft for the transportation of 200 Gambian AU troops to Darfur;²⁹⁷ France's dispatch of 200 (of 1000 troops in Chad) to the Sudanese border;²⁹⁸ and personal visits by Tony Blair and Paul Martin to al-Bashir himself.

The United Nations and Sudan

The United Nations Security Council has imposed an arms embargo on non-state actors in the conflict, which includes the Janjaweed, JEM and SLA²⁹⁹. Yet, despite its resolutions, the United

²⁸⁹ "Sudan: Commission earmarks a further €51 million in humanitarian aid", European Commission (Brussels), 26 November 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005 <europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/04/1411&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

²⁹⁰ "Darfur Humanitarian Emergency," United States Agency for International Development (Washington) 30 December 2005. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/sudan/darfur.html>

²⁹¹ "UK Government Funded Humanitarian Intervention in Darfur, Sudan," Department of International Development (London), 12 November 2004. Date of Access: 4 January 2005. <www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/darfurprojecttable.pdf>.

²⁹² "German Government Increases Aid for Refugees in Sudan," Die Bundesregierung (Berlin), 2 August 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <www.bundesregierung.de/en/dokumente/-,10001.692189/Artikel/dokument.htm>.

²⁹³ "Canada Supports African Union Position on Darfur Conflict," Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa), 21 December 2004. Date of Access: 3 January 2005. <webapps.dfaif-maeci.gc.ca/MinPub/Publication.asp?Language=E&publication_id=381920>.

²⁹⁴ "Emergency Assistance for Improvement of the Humanitarian Situation in the Darfur Region in the Western Part of Sudan," The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (Tokyo), 26 October 2004. Date of Access: 5 January 2005. <www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2004/10/1026.html>.

²⁹⁵ "Call for More Peacekeepers," BBC World News UK Edition (London), 12 November 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4006709.stm>.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ "More African Troops Go to Darfur," BBC World News UK Edition (London), 16 December 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4102613.stm>.

²⁹⁸ "French Army moves to Sudan Border," BBC World News UK Edition (London), 31 July 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3943137.stm>.

²⁹⁹ "UN Plan for Darfur 'Not Working'," BBC World News UK Edition (London), 22 December 2004. Date of Access: 2 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4119709.stm>.

Nations has yet to place enough pressure to get al-Bashir to rein in the Janjaweed militias. The United Nations has also threatened Sudan with oil sanctions; but Russia, which has a veto in the United Nations Security Council, is in opposition to this measure.^{300 301}

Conclusion

Jan Pronk, senior UN envoy to Sudan, suggests that the peace accord with the south gives Khartoum the “political momentum” for reaching peace in Darfur. A JEM spokesperson has echoed more pessimistic sentiments, however, suggesting that Khartoum is preparing for war as it redeploys Sudanese troops that are returning from the south to Darfur.³⁰² With the possibility of a grid-lock in the Security Council over tighter sanctions and while cease-fire agreements continue to be breached, the AU will have to step up its troop-level in the region if peace talks are to resume and order is to be restored. Yet it has been unable, as of yet, to proceed without more funding. The wealthy G8 nations are the only hope of new funding for the cash-strapped organization, especially after the devastating wake of the Asian tsunami crisis has captured the world’s attention.

*Compiled by Steve DaSilva
G8RG Policy Analyst*

³⁰⁰ “The World Has Shown a ‘Callous Disregard’ for the 70,000 People Killed in Sudan’s Darfur Conflict, a Human Rights Lobby Group Says,” BBC World News UK Edition (London), 14 January 2005. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4173829.stm>.

³⁰¹ “The United Nations Should Threaten To Impose Sanctions on Sudan Because of Human Rights, Abuses in Darfur UN Secretary General Kofi Annan Has Said,” BBC World News UK Edition (London), 31 January 2005. Date of Access: 31 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4220447.stm>.

³⁰² “Sudan Must Grasp ‘Peace Dividend’,” BBC World News UK Edition (London), 12 January 2005. Date of Access: 11 January 2005. <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4166863.stm>.

Conclusion

This report was compiled with the goal of providing both a historical and analytical overview of the Group of Eight's involvement in Africa beginning with the unveiling of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001 and the Africa Action Plan (AAP) in 2002, and continuing on the Gleneagles Summit in July 2005.

While the twelve issue areas examined in this report are by no means an exhaustive list of all of the issues covered under the AAP, they do represent a set of priority commitments that highlight some of the major achievements and shortcomings of G8 initiatives toward Africa. Their selection was made after due consideration and was based upon a number of specific factors including: the issue's consistent appearance on the agenda of the G8 at previous summits, its inclusion among the factors influencing the developmental needs of Africa as listed by UK Prime Minister and 2005 G8 Chair Tony Blair³⁰³ and, lastly, the fact that each issue was directly related to at least one of the six 'thematic areas' of study of the Commission for Africa.³⁰⁴

In 2004 at the Sea Island Summit, Africa was largely overshadowed by dialogue concerning the Middle East, and Iraq in particular. As the summit drew to a close, however, Tony Blair promised to make African development a primary agenda item and a regional area of focus at the 2005 G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. In keeping with these commitments in February 2004, the UK government launched the Commission for Africa, consisting of 17 individuals, whose mandate it was to generate a report defining "the challenges facing Africa, and to provide clear recommendations on how to support the changes needed to reduce poverty."³⁰⁵ In their report entitled *Our Common Interest*, released in 11 March 2005, the Commission cited the principles of good governance, the need for peace and security, environmental sustainability and fairer trade as being among the central building blocks required to bring about long lasting and sustainable development in Africa. Consequently, the issue areas covered by The G8 and Africa Interim Report are highly indicative of the issues that will likely prove crucial at the upcoming summit.

This report was produced by members of the G8 Research Group (G8RG) and published as an interim review of the G8's involvement in Africa since the inception of NEPAD and the AAP. Having reviewed the findings it is pertinent to keep in mind that it has not been the intention of the G8RG to provide a complete assessment of all of the actions undertaken by the G8 across each of the specified issue areas in their entirety. A final version of the report that will be issued prior to the 2005 Gleneagles Summit will provide a more in depth analysis of what the G8 has

³⁰³ "Prime Minister's Speech on Africa," 2005 G8Gleneagles Summit Official Website (London) 7 October 2004. Date of Access: 19 March 2005 <www.g8.gov.uk>.

³⁰⁴ The themes are: Culture and Participation, Economy, Governance, Human Development, Natural Resources, and Peace and Security. In addition, another three cross-cutting issues were identified: HIV/AIDS, Migration, and Gender and Youth. See: "About the Commission: Themes," Commission for Africa Official Website (London) 11 March 2005. Date of Access: 19 March 2005 <213.225.140.43/english/about/themes-summary.html>.

³⁰⁵ "Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa" Commission for Africa Official Website (London) 11 March 2005. Date of Access: 19 March 2005 <www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/thereport/cfafullreport.pdf>, 1.

accomplished over the last four years in working toward compliance with commitments made under the AAP.

Finally, the G8 and Africa report should be regarded as a compendium, or complementary study, to the work of the Commission for Africa. Whereas the greater part of the Commission's report focuses on making recommendations as to what the G8 ought to do to improve the situation in Africa, the G8RG's work looks at what the G8 has already accomplished in Africa thus far and, therefore, also functions as a good indicator of the likelihood of the Commission's recommendations being followed through on by the G8.

Comments on this report are welcomed and can be sent to <g8@utoronto.ca>. All suggestions will be considered for the final assessment of the G8 and Africa Report. This report will be made available approximately two weeks prior to the Gleneagles Summit commencing on July 6, 2005 and can be retrieved from the G8 Information Centre website at <www.g8.utoronto.ca>.

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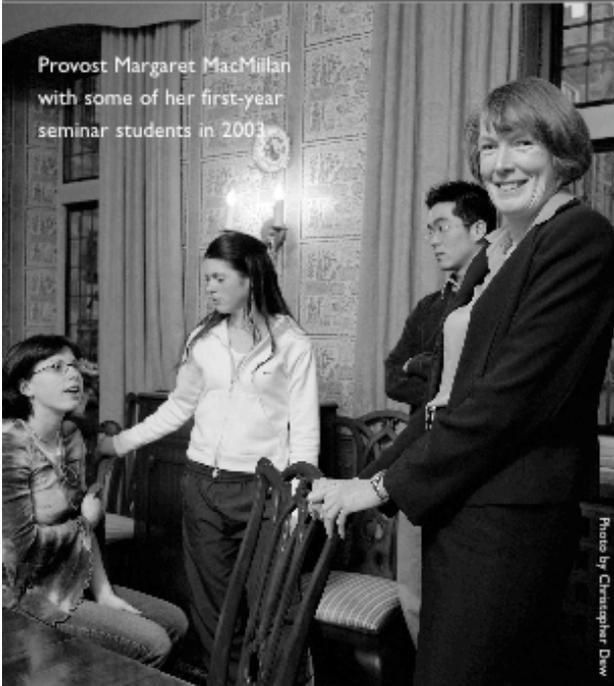


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