

G8 RESEARCH GROUP
CIVIL SOCIETY AND EXPANDED DIALOGUE UNIT



THE G8 AND AFRICA

*G8 Compliance to Africa Commitments & Civil Society Involvement since the
2005 Gleneagles Summit*

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PREFACE

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

This report was compiled by the Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue (CSED) Unit of the G8RG under the leadership of Joanna Dafoe and Andre Ghione. The CSED Unit conducts research and analysis on the G8's ongoing relationship with prospective new G8 member states and on thematic issues pertaining to civil society. This year, in addition to this report, the CSED Unit has also published the report *The G8 Presidency and Civil Society*, which provides an overview of the efforts of Germany and Russia to engage civil society and civil society to organize around the G8. In late July the CSED unit will release a summary report on civil society activity at the Heiligendamm Summit. The CSED Unit also releases "Expanded Dialogue" reports that look at the possibility of Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa joining the G8 in the near future. The 2007 "Expanded Dialogue" reports can be found on the G8RG website.

The G8RG welcomes responses to this report. Any comments or questions should be directed to g8@utoronto.ca. The co-chairs and authors of this report would like to thank the many people who helped share their knowledge and expertise on the G8 and Africa, as well as the individuals who helped in editing and publishing the final report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“The time for setting targets in the international community is over. Now it is about delivering.”¹ German Chancellor Angela Merkel aptly summarizes the challenge facing G8 leaders as they convene in Heiligendamm for the 2007 G8 Summit to discuss “good governance, sustainable investment, and peace and security” in Africa. The 2007 summit agenda, which holds great importance for African development, indicates the G8’s willingness to keep promises made in 2005 at the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.

This report shows that although the G8 has committed to numerous ambitious goals for African development, there is an ongoing disparity between these agreed upon goals and the reality of G8 delivery. Although some progress has been made towards African development, there is still a considerable amount of work to be done.

The aims of this report are two-fold. First, it broadly updates the 2005 Civil Society and Expanded Dialogue (CSED) report entitled “The G8 and Africa Final Report: An Overview of the G8’s Ongoing Relationship with African Development from the 2001 Genoa Summit to the 2005 Gleneagles Summit.” As an update, this report explores G8 country compliance towards African commitments by measuring progress in the areas of Official Development Assistance, Education For All, Health, Debt Relief, Trade, Good Governance, and Peace & Security. These topic areas were selected based on their relevance from the 2005 Gleneagles Summit and 2006 St Petersburg Summit. Secondly, this report summarizes civil society reactions to G8 deliberations on Africa. Although there is a vast array of civil society organizations (CSOs) that target the G8’s work on African development, this report is an intentionally simplified summary that serves to provide a general survey on some main CSO reactions to the G8.

The principle finding of this report is that, once again, the G8 performs more favourably on commitments that involve: minimal coordination among G8 states, few obligations beyond the provision of funds, and quantifiable goals. For instance, although a funding shortfall still exists, the G8 has consistently reaffirmed its commitment to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and has to date, offered substantial monetary support to the Fund. On the other hand, the G8 has been less successful in areas that require long-term policy coordination and collective action. The G8 has yet to agree upon trade rules through the World Trade Organization, and establish a ratifying year for the United Nations Convention against Corruption.

Civil society groups have shown a mixed response to the G8’s African initiatives. A common view shared by CSOs is that debt cancellation alone is insufficient to achieve sustainable development in Africa and that, in conjunction with debt relief efforts, there must also be trade justice, more and better aid, and a greater commitment toward fighting infectious diseases. CSOs with an active interest in Africa will continue organizing collectively around the G8 through various means. At the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit, the issue of “growth and responsibility” will encompass negotiations on debt relief, new pledges of ODA, and furthering multilateral debt cancellation pledges, as well as initiatives to improve Africa’s economic forces.² The success of the G8 in actualizing their African commitments, and the respective reactions of civil society, will continue to unfold at the Heiligendamm Summit and in the time leading up to the Hokkaido Summit in 2008.

¹ Merkel Says G8 Will Deliver on African Aid, Irish Times, (Dublin), 25 May 2007. Date of Access: 26 May 2007.

² Focuses of the German G8 Presidency, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 18 October 2006. Date of Access: 03 June 2007. <http://www.g-8.de/Webs/G8/EN/G8Summit/Agenda/agenda.html>.

From Gleneagles to Heiligendamm: Africa on the Radar of the G8

During the United Kingdom's 2005 G8 Presidency, Prime Minister Tony Blair cited African development as a main priority.³ At the Gleneagles Summit, G8 leaders established the Commission for Africa, a preparatory initiative mandated to provide policy recommendations to spur long-term development and poverty reduction.⁴ *Our Common Interest*, the Commission's final report, was published in 2005 and remains an important measure of progress.

At the 2006 St Petersburg Summit, G8 leaders neither reiterated their commitments to African nations nor delivered a promised USD25 billion in aid and trade promises.⁵ In response, an Oxfam spokesperson stated "the G8 leaders ignored the world's most critical crisis, one that will kill 11 million children by the time they next meet."⁶

Global civil society (GCS) remains skeptical of the G8's treatment of African development. While some groups applaud the inclusion of "peace and stability" in Africa on the 2007 Heiligendamm agenda, others criticize the G8 for non-compliance with annual commitments and promoting neoliberal economic solutions which often translate into economic dependency.⁷ The German government has attempted to establish and maintain dialogue with members of African civil society, an effort described by German Development Minister Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul as "an important part of the preparations for G8 Africa policy in 2007 and beyond."⁸ Although it is difficult to quantify the extent to which civil society has shaped African policy for the Heiligendamm Summit, measuring GCS' commitment to the issue is not. Organizations from the North and South countries have allied to promote the cause of African development within the G8 and to monitor the feasibility of G8 commitments.

By: Sana Malik
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³ Africa G8 Gleneagles 2005, UK G8 Presidency, (Gleneagles). Date of Access: 10 March 2006.

<http://www.g8.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1094235520151>

⁴ G8 and Africa Final Report, G8 Research Group, (University of Toronto). 24 June 2005. Date of Access: 10 December 2006.

http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/csed/g8africa_050624.html

⁵ http://www.halifaxinitiative.org/index.php/Issues_Debt/788

⁶ http://www.oxfam.org/en/news/pressreleases2006/pr060717_g8verdict

⁷ Towards Heiligendamm: The German G-8 Agenda. Responsible, Reliable, Sustainable? Civil8, Russia. World Economy and Development In Brief, Oct-Nov, 2006. http://en.civilg8.ru/Civil_and_G8/2384.php

⁸ German G8 presidency in dialogue with African Civil Society. 27 April 2007. Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Berlinfoo). http://www.bmz.de/EU_G8/Teaserseite_Aktuelles/AktuelleMeldungen/20070426

The G8 and Africa: Progress Since Gleneagles

In 2005, the “Year for Africa,”⁹ the G8 assembled at the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland to discuss development on the world’s poorest continent. The summit focused largely on the achievement of the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a set of eight promises made by world leaders at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit. Pledges include eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, combating the spread of HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, improving maternal health, reducing child mortality, achieving universal primary education, fostering gender equality, promoting environmental sustainability, and establishing global cooperation in the development process.¹⁰ Perhaps naturally, the G8 adopted the MDGs as the basis for its own action *vis-à-vis* African development. At the end of the summit, promises were made in line with the MDG goals and framework to establish trade justice, cancel the debts of Africa’s poorest countries, provide more and better aid, combat HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases, guarantee education for all, maintain security and support peace initiatives, and fight corruption.¹¹

The African agenda at the 2006 St Petersburg Summit centered on the delivery of these pledges. Though the G8 has made substantial progress in debt cancellation, its contributions to effective aid, education, anti-corruption measures, and the fight against infectious diseases have been minimal. In terms of trade reform, the G8’s performance has been dismal at best. In an effort to ensure the delivery of past promises, the German G8 Presidency restored African development as a priority issue for the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit. This report aims to measure the G8’s progress since Gleneagles and chart civil society activity and inclusion in the past two years.

Official Development Assistance

The eighth MDG—to promote global partnerships for development—guarantees 0.7% of a country’s Gross National Income in Official Development Assistance (ODA).¹² This goal has been partially met by the G8, with Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and France all having made long-term commitments to reach the 0.7% mark.¹³ However, they remain far from achieving this goal.¹⁴

At Gleneagles, the G8 pledged an unprecedented USD50 billion increase in aid to developing countries and promised to double aid to Africa.¹⁵ According to a report released by DATA (Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa), G8 member countries increased aid by USD2.3 billion from 2004-2006¹⁶—less than half the Gleneagles target. In order to fully comply with its commitment, the G8 must contribute USD7.4 billion

⁹ Has the G8 Met its Promises to Africa? BBC News UK Edition, (London), 26 June 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/5086526.stm>.

¹⁰ UN Millennium Development Goals, United Nations, (New York), 2005. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>.

¹¹ Chair’s Summary, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

¹² UN Millennium Development Goals, United Nations, (New York), 2005. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>.

¹³ Africa, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, (London), 8 July 2005. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. http://www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/PostG8_Gleneagles_Africa,0.pdf.

¹⁴ Millennium Campaign Response to G8 Communiqué, Millennium Campaign, (New York), 11 July 2005. Date of Access: 10 February 2007. <http://www.millenniumcampaign.org/site/apps/nl/content3.asp?c=grKVL2NLE&b=190470&ct=1159985>.

¹⁵ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

¹⁶ The DATA Report: Development Assistance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 17 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/devAssistance2007.pdf>.

in 2007 alone.¹⁷

The Millennium Campaign notes that portions of these pledges are simply restatements of individual member-states' pledges.¹⁸ Make Poverty History highlights the importance of ending "tied" aid, which must be spent in the donor country.¹⁹ Though the practice is frowned upon, some governments calculate debt cancellation as aid.²⁰ Thus, although GCS has long urged aid increases, it also recognizes the need for, and encourages, the process of significant aid reform.

Education for All

At both the Gleneagles²¹ and St Petersburg summits,²² the G8 pledged support for the Education for All agenda. Education for All, launched at the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, is a global commitment to universalize basic education and promote gender equality in education.²³ In 2005, the G8 also committed to fund the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) and other programs promoting education in FTI-endorsed countries.²⁴ The FTI assists in the coordination of donor agencies in an effort to reach the MDG of ensuring universal primary education.

The FTI has not yet received global support. Among G8 countries, only France and the United Kingdom have made direct contributions to FTI; Canada, Russia, and the United States have made contributions to FTI-endorsed countries.²⁵ While there was no explicit recommitment to the FTI at St Petersburg, the G8 did promise to maintain assistance to FTI-endorsed countries.²⁶

Health

Within the framework of the MDGs, the G8 pledged to provide universal access to anti-retroviral drugs in Africa by 2010 at Gleneagles;²⁷ the commitment to fight infectious diseases was renewed at St Petersburg.²⁸ The G8's efforts have largely comprised of providing financial assistance to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The Global Fund is a public-private partnership uniting

¹⁷ The DATA Report: Development Assistance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 17 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/devAssistance2007.pdf>.

¹⁸ Millennium Campaign Response to G8 Communiqué, Millennium Campaign, (New York), 11 July 2005. Date of Access: 10 February 2007.

¹⁹ 2005: The Year of Make Poverty History, Make Poverty History, (London), 2005. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/theyearof>.

²⁰ Has the G8 Met its Promises to Africa? BBC News UK Edition, (London), 26 June 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/5086526.stm>.

²¹ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

²² Education, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005stpetersburg/education.html.

²³ About Education for All, UNESCO, (Paris), 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.phpURL_ID=51465&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

²⁴ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

²⁵ 2005 Gleneagles Compliance Report: Education: Africa, G8 Research Group, (Toronto), 12 June 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.

http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2005compliance_final/2005-09-g8-f-comp-educ.pdf.

²⁶ Education, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005stpetersburg/education.html.

²⁷ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

²⁸ Fight Against Infectious Diseases, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/infdis.html>.

governments, civil society, the private sector, and local communities to combat the three diseases.²⁹ Grants from the Global Fund have improved the infrastructure of public health systems and implemented successful prevention programs in numerous countries.³⁰

The G8 countries collectively pledged and donated USD1.2 billion to the Global Fund in 2005; by September 2006, the eight nations delivered on USD1.2 billion of its USD1.5 billion commitment for that year.³¹ The US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) promised a five-year USD15 billion commitment to the fight against HIV/AIDS.³² Working closely with the Global Fund, PEPFAR spurred an increase in the number of people receiving antiretroviral treatment to 1.2 million worldwide.³³ Still, the Global Fund experienced a USD500 million shortfall in 2006. 2007 estimates peg the funding gap at USD1.4 billion.³⁴ An additional USD4 billion will be required in 2008, while 2009 estimates currently stand at USD6 billion.³⁵ At the XVI International AIDS Conference held in Toronto, Canada from 13-18 August 2006, Germany announced plans to host a Global Fund replenishment conference to coincide with its G8 Presidency.³⁶ The conference is scheduled to take place on 25-26 September in Berlin.³⁷

As part of the St Petersburg package to fight infectious diseases, the G8 renewed its promise to support the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI).³⁸ Only Canada, Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom have contributed to the USD829 million funding goal set at Gleneagles.³⁹ The GPEI estimates funding gaps of USD50 million and USD390 million for 2006 and 2007 respectively.⁴⁰

G8 countries have taken alternative steps towards the 2005 commitments. On 9 September 2005, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, in partnership with Spain and Sweden, launched the USD4 billion

²⁹ How the Fund Works, Global Fund, (Geneva), 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.
<http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/about/how>.

³⁰ Our Track Record, Global Fund, (Geneva), 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.
<http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/about/record>.

³¹ Contributions to Date, Global Fund, (Geneva), 4 January 2007. Date of Access: 4 January 2007.
www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/pledges&contributions.xls.

³² Global AIDS Alliance: President Clinton Says Global Fund Is the Best Way to Channel AIDS Money, U.S. Newswire, (Toronto), 16 August 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007.
<http://global.factiva.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/ha/default.aspx>.

³³ People Receiving AIDS Treatment Doubles With United States, Global Fund Support, Global Fund, (Geneva), 1 December 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.
http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/media_center/press/pr_061201.asp.

³⁴ President Clinton Says Global Fund is the Best Way to Channel AIDS Money, Global AIDS Alliance, (Toronto), 16 August 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.globalaidsalliance.org/pressreleases/press081606.cfm>.

³⁵ Resource Needs: Funding the Global Fight against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, (Geneva), February 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.
<http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/files/about/replenishment/oslo/Resource%20Needs.pdf>.

³⁶ Global AIDS Alliance: President Clinton Says Global Fund Is the Best Way to Channel AIDS Money, U.S. Newswire, (Toronto), 16 August 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007.
<http://global.factiva.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/ha/default.aspx>.

³⁷ Action Alert: Support the Global Fund Replenishment Process, World AIDS Campaign, (Amsterdam), 28 February 2007. Date of Access: 8 June 2007.
http://www.worldaidscampaign.info/index.php/en/campaigns/key_constituencies/faith/action_alert_support_the_global_fund_replenishment_process.

³⁸ Fight Against Infectious Diseases, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/infdis.html>.

³⁹ 2005 Gleneagles Compliance Report: Health: Polio Eradication, G8 Research Group, (Toronto), 12 June 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.
http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2005compliance_final/2005-05-g8-f-comp-polio.pdf.

⁴⁰ Global Polio Eradication Initiative: Financial Resource Requirements 2006-2008, World Health Organization, (Geneva), September 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006.
http://www.polioeradication.org/content/general/FinalFRR_English2006-2008_Sept06.pdf.

International Finance Facility for Immunization (IFFIm) to improve accessibility to HIV/AIDS and malaria drugs.⁴¹ France and the United Kingdom have also played key roles in creating the International Drug Purchase Facility (UNITAID).⁴² This joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS aims to fight HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria through drugs provision, the negotiation of bulk purchases, and innovative financing such as an air-ticket levy.⁴³

Debt Relief

The 2006 St Petersburg commitment to the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI)⁴⁴ was meant to complement the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) made at Gleneagles.⁴⁵ The MDRI has provided 100% debt cancellation to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Development Association (IDA), and the African Development Bank (AfDB).⁴⁶ Since March 2006, eighteen African countries have benefited from this debt relief.⁴⁷ However, the MDRI fails to provide any parallel debt relief from bilateral creditors or other multilateral institutions.⁴⁸

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) remain reluctant to provide a final analysis of G8 African debt relief. Make Poverty History has noted that many indebted developing countries are ineligible for debt cancellation;⁴⁹ Civil G8 has drawn attention towards the need for sustainability of the initiatives.⁵⁰ British Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown admits the initiative must be extended to at least an additional 70 countries.⁵¹ Finally, NGOs have consistently acknowledged the inefficacy of debt cancellation in isolation. In order for lasting development to occur, trade justice must accompany any initiatives to provide debt relief.

Trade

The G8's track record on trade reform consists of broad commitments and limited action. In both 2005⁵² and 2006,⁵³ the G8 promised to pursue the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) of encouraging freer and

⁴¹ International Finance Facility, Her Majesty's Treasury, (London), September 2005. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/documents/international_issues/international_development/development_iff.cfm.

⁴² Gleneagles Implementation Plan for Africa – October 2006 Update, Department for International Development, (London), October 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/g8/milestones.asp>.

⁴³ UNITAID Launched, UNAIDS, (Geneva), 20 September 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.unaids.org/en/MediaCentre/PressMaterials/FeatureStory/20060920-unitaid.asp>.

⁴⁴ Update on Africa, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005stpetersburg/africa.html.

⁴⁵ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

⁴⁶ Factsheet: Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI), International Monetary Fund, (Washington), November 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006 <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/mdri.htm>.

⁴⁷ Debt Relief, The World Bank, (Washington), August 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20040942~menuPK:34480~pagePK:34370~theSitePK:4607,00.html>.

⁴⁸ Factsheet: Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI), International Monetary Fund, (Washington), November 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006 <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/mdri.htm>.

⁴⁹ 2005: The Year of Make Poverty History, Make Poverty History, (London), 2005. Date of Access: 2 January 2007. www.makepovertyhistory.org/theyearof.

⁵⁰ Trade, Finance for Development and Africa: Recommendations of the Forum on the meeting of the heads of G8 countries in St Petersburg in July 2006, Civil G8, (St Petersburg), 2006. Date of Access: 2 January 2007. <http://en.civilg8.ru/2255.php>.

⁵¹ A Steady First Step Forward, The Guardian, (London), 6 February 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/hearafrica05/story/0,,1703316,00.html>.

⁵² Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

⁵³ Trade, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005stpetersburg/trade.html.

fairer trade. In 2005, the G8 also acknowledged the autonomy of developing countries to set their own economic policies and development strategies.⁵⁴ The Doha Development Rounds in Hong Kong set the elimination of agricultural subsidies for 2013.⁵⁵ According to Oxfam International, though the Doha Rounds resulted in more promises, little progress was made.⁵⁶

In 2006, global trade leaders met at the Geneva Development Rounds to fulfill the commitments of the St Petersburg Summit. Talks disintegrated as a result of a stalemate between developing and developed nations.⁵⁷ The main conflict was the unwillingness of rich nations to reduce agricultural protectionist measures, an action contrary to G8 promises.⁵⁸ Moreover, African nations had been forced to open their agricultural market, while developed nations have failed to do the same.⁵⁹

As with agricultural subsidies, access to HIV/AIDS drugs is linked to the balance of global trade. At the 2001 ministerial conference in Doha, WTO members pledged to implement trade agreements in ways that would advance the accessibility and creation of medicines. Five years later, NGOs, such as Oxfam International and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) continue to call attention to the increasing prices of generic drugs.⁶⁰

At the 2006 St Petersburg Summit, the G8 renewed its 2005 commitment to support Aid for Trade,⁶¹ which provides funding for developing countries to promote their products in foreign markets. The WTO's progress on forming recommendations for such a plan, however, has been slow. For example, Oxfam noted that previous promises on Aid for Trade have been largely unrealized.⁶²

NGOs realize the importance of fairer, though not necessarily freer trade. In addition, Make Poverty History⁶³ and Civil G8⁶⁴ called for the subordination of trade agreements to health and environmental standards. Equality in trade deals is a central component of promoting growth in Africa that must accompany the G8's progress in increasing ODA and debt relief.

Good Governance

Good governance in Africa remains an important component of the developmental agenda due to its inextricable ties to aid effectiveness. Corruption is tied to poverty, environmental and health problems,

⁵⁴ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006.

www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

⁵⁵ 'Modest' Deal Struck in Hong Kong, BBC News UK Edition, (London), 18 December 2005. Date of Access: 10 February 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4539108.stm>.

⁵⁶ A Recipe for Disaster, Oxfam International, (Oxford), April 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007.

http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/briefingpapers/bp87_recipefordisaster_060427.

⁵⁷ Latest WTO Talks Fail, BBC News UK Edition, (London), 3 July 2006. Date of Access: 20 November 2006.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2006/07/060703_wtofailure.shtml.

⁵⁸ Latest WTO Talks Fail, BBC News UK Edition, (London), 3 July 2006. Date of Access: 20 November 2006.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2006/07/060703_wtofailure.shtml.

⁵⁹ Latest WTO Talks Fail, BBC News UK Edition, (London), 3 July 2006. Date of Access: 20 November 2006.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2006/07/060703_wtofailure.shtml.

⁶⁰ Profit Still Trumps Public Health for "Big Pharma" Firms, Gustavo Capdevilla, (Geneva), 8 December 2006. Date of Access: 1 March 2007. http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/article_3091.shtml.

⁶¹ Update on Africa, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006.

www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005stpetersburg/africa.html.

⁶² Slow progress on fair deal for Africa, BBC News UK Edition, (London), 23 June 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/5080848.stm>.

⁶³ Make Poverty History, Make Poverty History, (London), 2005. Date of Access: 2 January 2007.

<http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/docs/manifesto.pdf>.

⁶⁴ "Trade, Finance for Development and Africa". Recommendations of the Forum on the Meeting of the Heads of G8 Countries in St Petersburg in July 2006, Civil G8, (St Petersburg), 2006. Date of Access: 2 January 2007. <http://en.civilg8.ru/2255.php>.

terrorism, and organized crime. Central to the G8's plan to promote good governance has been to support the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), which offers a global strategy of cooperation and accountability to fight corruption.⁶⁵ At Gleneagles and St Petersburg, the G8 pledged to ratify UNCAC, though no target date was set.⁶⁶ On 14 December 2005, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and twenty-two African countries were among the thirty nations to ratify and effectuate the UNCAC.⁶⁷ On 29 November 2006, the United States joined the three other G8 countries in following through on its commitment to ratify the regional multilateral anti-corruption action.⁶⁸

At the World Summit on Sustainable Development in September 2002, British Prime Minister Tony Blair introduced the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).⁶⁹ The EITI seeks to promote transparency in government-company transactions involving extractive industries.⁷⁰ Fourteen Sub-Saharan African countries are currently EITI participants.⁷¹ The G8 supports this initiative through the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF).⁷² However, according to DATA, the G8 countries remain USD10 million short of the funds required for the next three years.⁷³

Initiated by the African Union (AU) in 2003, the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) binds participating countries to the African Union's Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic, and Corporate Governance.⁷⁴ Twenty-seven African countries are currently part of the APRM.⁷⁵ Although the G8 member countries are not direct participants of the APRM, Canada and the United Kingdom have contributed funds.⁷⁶

Transparency International's (TI) Director of Global Programs Cobus de Swardt stated, "Corruption is a major obstacle in the reduction of poverty."⁷⁷ TI is a global coalition committed to fighting corruption. The NGO's Africa and Middle East Department is a regional forum created to share resources and information with individual countries in order to fight corruption in these geographic areas.⁷⁸ Through

⁶⁵ United Nations Convention Against Corruption, United Nations Information Service, (Vienna), 2004 May 10. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2004/uniscp484.html>

⁶⁶ Fighting High-Level Corruption, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/corruption.html>.

⁶⁷ United Nations Convention Against Corruption, United Nations Information Service, (Vienna), 2004 May 10. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2004/uniscp484.html>.

⁶⁸ Combating Corruption: The US Role in the UN Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), US Department of State, (Washington), 12 December 2006. Date of Access: 29 December 2006. http://usinfo.state.gov/usinfo/USINFO/Products/Webchats/uncac_12_dec_2006.html.

⁶⁹ EITI: FAQ, Department for International Development, (London), 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. http://www.eitransparency.org/section/_faqs/#toimplementation.

⁷⁰ EITI: FAQ, Department for International Development, (London), 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. http://www.eitransparency.org/section/_faqs/#toimplementation.

⁷¹ The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷² The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷³ ⁷³ The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷⁴ The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷⁵ The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷⁶ The DATA Report: Governance, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.Data.org/pdfs/governance2007.pdf>.

⁷⁷ Transparency International and Poverty Fighter Geldof Join Forces, Transparency International, (Berlin), 13 February 2006. Date of Access: 1 June 2007.

http://www.transparency.org/index.php/news_room/latest_news/press_releases/2006/2006_02_13_geldof.

⁷⁸ Africa and Middle East, Transparency International, (Berlin), 16 December 2005. Date of Access: 27 May 2007. http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/africa_middle_east/about.

this department, TI has been instrumental in promoting the UNCAC.⁷⁹ TI documents the progress of participating African countries and lobbies governments.⁸⁰ In a meeting with German Chancellor Angela Merkel on 15 May 2007, TI Chair Huguette Labelle urged Germany as well as Canada, Japan, and Italy to ratify the UNCAC.⁸¹ While meeting with Bob Geldof, De Swardt also stressed the importance of monitoring the G8's progress since Gleneagles to "hold them accountable for turning their words into actions."⁸²

Peace and Security

The G8 committed to provide resources and financial assistance to unstable African nations with the ultimate goal of fostering a favorable environment for economic growth and social development. One of the G8's most significant commitments to African stability at Gleneagles was the renewal of the 2004 Sea Island promise to train 75,000 peacekeepers by 2010, with a focus on African peace building.⁸³ In 2006, the G8 renewed its commitment to the African Standby Force and announced its support for the Centre of Excellence for Stability Police Units (COESPU), in Vicenza, Italy.⁸⁴ The COESPU will train gendarmerie forces to lead peacekeeping operations in Africa and throughout the world.⁸⁵

Of the G8 member countries, Canada and the US have shown the strongest leadership in working towards the 2005 and 2006 commitments.⁸⁶ According to DATA, more technical and financial assistance is required, especially in such areas as policy development, early warning systems, conflict development, transport and logistics, and training coordination.⁸⁷

The African Union's Mission in Sudan (AMIS) has received a majority of its monetary support from the United States and the European Union's Africa Peace Facility (APF).⁸⁸ More specifically, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States rank highest among G8 countries in terms of providing bilateral assistance.⁸⁹ Despite these G8 efforts, Oxfam calls for more to be done to end the violence in Darfur and punish those responsible. What the United Nations has called the "world's worst

⁷⁹ Promoting Anti-Corruption Conventions, Transparency International, (Berlin), 12 December 2005. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. http://www.transparency.org/regional_pages/africa_middle_east/priority_areas/conventions.

⁸⁰ TI Country Studies in Africa: Commitment to Anti-Corruption Conventions Still Weak, Transparency International, (Berlin), 18 April 2007. Date of Access: 27 May 2007.

http://www.transparency.org/index.php/news_room/latest_news/press_releases/2007/2007_04_18_uncac_africa_en.

⁸¹ All G8 Countries Must Ratify UN Anti-Corruption Convention, Says Labelle, Transparency International, (Berlin), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 27 May 2007.

http://www.transparency.org/index.php/news_room/latest_news/press_releases/2007/2007_05_15_merkel_meeting.

⁸² Transparency International and Poverty Fighter Geldof Join Forces, Transparency International, (Berlin), 13 February 2006. Date of Access: 1 June 2007.

http://www.transparency.org/index.php/news_room/latest_news/press_releases/2006/2006_02_13_geldof.

⁸³ Africa, 2005 Gleneagles Summit, (Gleneagles), July 2005. Date of Access: 21 December 2006.

www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/africa.html.

⁸⁴ G8 Declaration on Cooperation and Future Action on Stabilization and Reconstruction, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006.

<http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/stabilization.html>.

⁸⁵ COESPU, Ministry of Defense, (Vicenza), 2005. Date of Access: 28 December 2006. <http://coespu.carabinieri.it>.

⁸⁶ 2006 St Petersburg Compliance Report: Africa: Security, G8 Research Group, (Toronto), 16 February 2007. Date of Access: 1 March 2007. http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2006compliance_interim/2006_12_interim_security.pdf.

⁸⁷ The DATA Report: Executive Summary, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007.

<http://www.theDataReport.org/pdf/execSumm2007.pdf>.

⁸⁸ The DATA Report: Executive Summary, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007.

<http://www.theDataReport.org/pdf/execSumm2007.pdf>.

⁸⁹ The DATA Report: Executive Summary, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007.

<http://www.theDataReport.org/pdf/execSumm2007.pdf>.

humanitarian crisis in the world”⁹⁰ has already claimed the lives of 200 000 people and displaced an additional 2 million.⁹¹ DATA pressed that the G8 has a moral responsibility to counteract the weaknesses of an “under-manned and under-funded AU mission.”⁹² As a first step, the German G8 Presidency has identified peace and security as a priority issue for the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit.

The Role of Civil Society

GCS claimed a central role in 2005, with Make Poverty History and Live 8 demonstrating the power of collective action in shaping the Gleneagles agenda. In an address at King’s College, Tony Blair praised GCS actions in 2005 and recognized the need for global public mobilization to end poverty.⁹³ At Gleneagles, the UK government made a step towards greater civil society inclusion by allowing NGOs to participate in G8 deliberations and have access to media centers.⁹⁴

During the Russian Presidency, Vladimir Putin attended part of the Civil G8 Conference to canvass the views of NGOs prior to the 2006 St Petersburg Summit. University of Toronto Adjunct Professor Peter Hajnal states, “Russia, in its first-time G8 presidency, demonstrated its openness and willingness, at the highest level, to engage with civil society to an unprecedented extent.”⁹⁵ At St Petersburg, the G8 even acknowledged the crucial role of NGOs to facilitate programs to fight corruption.⁹⁶

However, the recognition of GCS’s importance does not always lead to the adoption of their policy initiatives. Even if the G8 made the desired commitments, complete implementation would not necessarily follow. Both scenarios have transpired within the past two years; in response, NGOs have urged extensive debt relief, better aid, trade justice, and greater action in the fight against HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases. Though this report highlights Civil G8, Make Poverty History, and Oxfam International, other civil society groups, such as DATA (Debt AIDS Trade Africa),⁹⁷ ActionAid,⁹⁸ and the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP),⁹⁹ advocate similar goals on African development.

Conclusion

The 2005 Gleneagles Summit registered an important shift in priorities towards the African continent. African development was subsequently dropped as a priority issue during the St Petersburg Summit,

⁹⁰ Security Council Approves Structure of UN/African Peacekeeping Force in Darfur, UN News Centre, (New York), 25 May 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=22696&Cr=sudan&Cr1=#>.

⁹¹ Darfur: Ban Ki-moon Condemns Attack on Blue Helmets in Darfur, UN News Centre, (New York), 29 May 2007. Date of Access: 1 June 2007. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=22715&Cr=sudan&Cr1=#>.

⁹² The DATA Report: Executive Summary, DATA, (Washington), 15 May 2007. Date of Access: 20 May 2007. <http://www.theDataReport.org/pdf/execSumm2007.pdf>.

⁹³ Address by Prime Minister Tony Blair at King’s college, 10 Downing Street, (London), 26 June 2006. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page9746.asp>.

⁹⁴ Can G8 Be Considered A Success? BBC News UK Edition, (London), 5 July 2005. Date of Access: 3 January 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4663659.stm>.

⁹⁵ Peter I. Hajnal, Civil G8, (Moscow), 2 December 2006. Date of Access: 5 January 2007. <http://en.civilg8.ru/documents/2438.php>.

⁹⁶ Fighting High-Level Corruption, 2006 St Petersburg Summit (St Petersburg), July 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/corruption.html>.

⁹⁷ The DATA Report 2006, DATA, (Washington), 2006. Date of Access: 2 March 2007. <http://www.theDataReport.org/pdf/DATAreport.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Real Aid: An Agenda For Making Aid Work, ActionAid, (Johannesburg), June 2005. Date of Access: 2 March 2007. http://www.actionaid.org.uk/doc_lib/69_1_real_aid.pdf.

⁹⁹ Reviewing the Call: The Beirut Platform from the Global Call to Action against Poverty, GCAP, (Beirut), 15 March 2006. Date of Access: 2 March 2007. <http://www.whiteband.org/GlobalPages/resources/DocumentAndFile/standup/files.2006-09-28.1138175303>.

with G8 countries simply renewing the previous year's promises. Since, the G8's delivery on its pledges has remained incomplete. G8 countries will have a chance to recast their relationship with Africa at the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit when Africa returns to the core of G8 talks. The summit will update the G8's record since St Petersburg and make additional commitments with a focus on Africa's economic development and healthcare. Progress in other important areas, such as water sanitation and food security, will likely remain absent from the G8 agenda, as has been the case for much of the G8-Africa relationship history.

From Gleneagles to the preparations for Heiligendamm, GCS has played an important role in placing Africa on the G8 agenda, identifying inadequacies within G8 commitments, and charting progress on the fulfillment of pledges. The German G8 Presidency has announced plans to meet with NGOs prior to the upcoming summit and acknowledge their recommendations.¹⁰⁰ Still, the degree of influence that civil society will have on the G8's commitments is unclear. At the same time, the past two years have demonstrated that the true test of a summit's success lies in the G8's work after it states its pledges. As GCAP Africa Representative Adelaide Sosseh said, "G8 governments must not think commitments are just for their meetings. They are ongoing commitments, and there is critical ongoing work to be done. We need the G8 to deliver now, today and every day till the Summit."¹⁰¹ Chancellor Merkel could not agree more with the demands from this civil society organization. Addressing the Bundestag on 24 May 2007 with a call for G8 action, she stated, "The time for setting targets in the international community is over. Now it is about delivering."¹⁰²

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¹⁰⁰ Germany Assumes G8 Presidency, G8 Summit 2007 Heiligendamm, (Heiligendamm), 27 December 2006. Date of Access: 4 January 2007. http://www.g-8.de/nn_92160/Content/EN/Artikel/2006/12/2006-12-27-deutschland-_C3_BCbernimmt-g8-vorsitz__en.html.

¹⁰¹ Global Call to Action Against Poverty Quotes on the Announcement of the 2007 German G8 Agenda, G8-NGO Platform, 18 October 2006. Date of Access: 21 December 2006. www.g8-germany.info/english/GCAP%20G8%20Response%20Quotes%20to%20German%20Agenda.doc.

¹⁰² Merkel Says G8 Will Deliver on African Aid, Irish Times, (Dublin), 25 May 2007. Date of Access: 26 May 2007.

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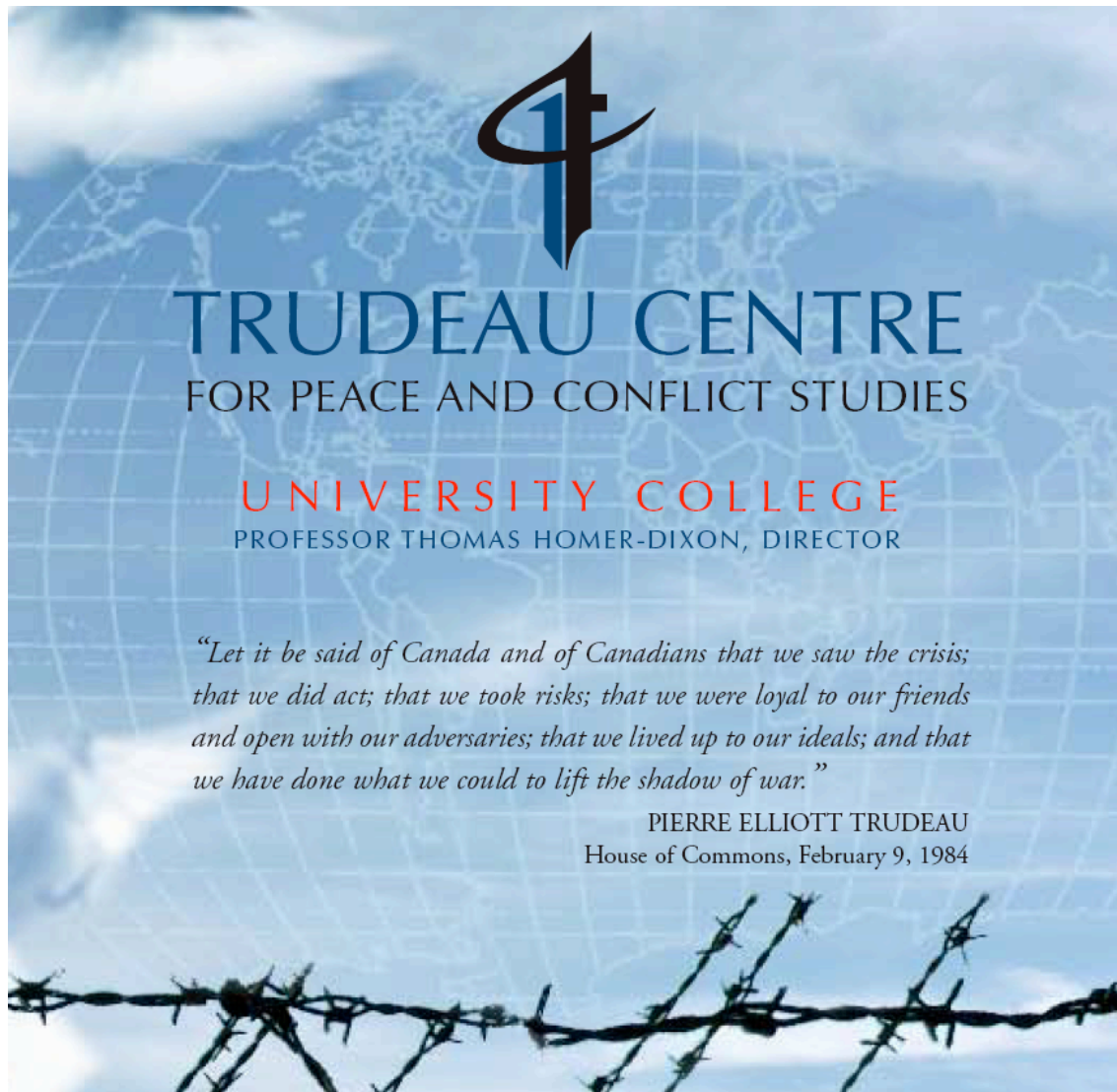
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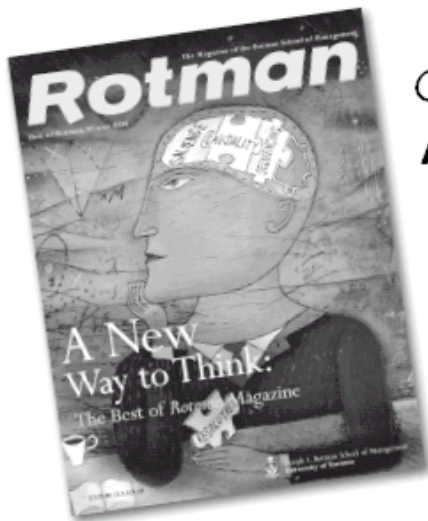
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