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G8 Research Group
at the Munk Centre for International Studies at Trinity College in the University of Toronto

Presents the

**2010 Canada Summit
Expanded Dialogue Country Assessment Report**

27 June 2010

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with

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Executive Summary

The G8 Research Group is the world's leading independent research institute on the G8 and has consistently provided onsite analysis of the performance of each G8 member state at the annual G8 leader's summit.

Since the 2005 Gleneagles Summit, however, the annual G8 meeting has also included discussions with the five leading emerging economies of the Outreach-5 – the commonly known G5. The members of the G5: Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa, have attended these summits with their own agendas and have worked alongside the G8 members to advance their own priorities. This is the second year that the G8 Research Group is assessing the performance of these states. The *2010 Expanded Dialogue (G5) Country Assessment Report* analyzes and reports on the performance of G5 states at the 2010 Muskoka Summit.

In contrast to last year's operating procedures, this year Prime Minister Stephen Harper decided to shift the focus of the G8 Summit on the discussion of the Muskoka Initiative. This resulted in pushing the expanded dialogue sessions with the G5 on the sidelines. In light of this development, this year's Expanded Dialogue Reports will be analyzing the G5 countries' achievement of their individual objectives for the G20 Toronto Summit instead.

In lieu of meeting with the G5, PM Harper has invited seven African leaders to participate in an outreach session: Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Malawi, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa. Delegations from Colombia, Haiti and Jamaica will be attending as well, in order to discuss the issues of transnational crime and corruption.

As with the typical *G8 Country Assessment Report*, this report defines performance as the ability of a state to successfully pursue its priority objectives at a given summit and to shape the statements that emerge to reflect its own objectives. This report assesses performance by assigning scores to countries based on how well the statements and communiqués released by the G5 leaders correspond with the stated objectives of each of the G5 countries. The objectives of each member state were arranged in order of priority based on a rigorous review of government statements, speeches, and communiqués as well as domestic and international media coverage.

Country objectives were codified approximately three to four weeks prior to the beginning of the 2010 Toronto G20 Summit in order to capture a member state's priorities prior to entering into the so-called "expectations management" stage. During this phase of the lead-up to the summit, political rhetoric is adjusted in order to manage public expectations after concessions are made on priorities and issues during the pre-summit Sherpa and ministerial meetings.

At the summit, G5 countries are scored like their G8 counterparts, based on pre-established guidelines for evaluating the success or failure of a country to advance its priority objectives. If the statements and press releases emerging from the summit reflect a pre-identified priority objective of a given G8 country, that country receives a high score, as graded along a five point scale (which ranges from a core of 0 to 1). Scores for priority objectives are aggregated using a

weighted formula and offer empirical insight into how well each of the G5 countries has performed at the summit. A country's aggregate score is calculated using a weighted average, in which the weight a particular objective receives is relative to its ranking in the sequential priority ordering. These weights were developed with a quadratic function, allowing us to assign decreasing weights to each objective while ensuring that the difference between each weight increases as priorities descend. By this methodology, a country's most important objectives will have the greatest impact on its aggregate score.

Countries are scored on achieving their objectives, regardless of the forum in which they were pursued: the G8 Summit in Muskoka or the larger G20 Summit in Toronto. Given that the G5 countries have not been extended invitations to attend the G8 Summit, G5 partners may find it more difficult to promote their individual objectives due to the lack of an appropriate forum. Furthermore, G5 countries will not be able to interact with their G8 counterparts until the G20 Summit in Toronto, during which, their individual agenda preferences may be overshadowed by the aggregate demands of the G20 to focus on issues pertaining to the global economy. Given Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper's insistence on delineating and dividing the Summits as such, G5 country achievements of their non-economic objectives must be viewed as all the more exemplary, given the lack of a focused forum through which discussion can be pursued.

This report was made possible through the dedicated efforts and commitment of four analysts from the G8 Research Group at the University of Toronto. Their work offers a unique contribution to the study of the world's foremost emerging economies and their relationship with the G8.

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Brazil

Economic Data

Currency: Brazilian Reals (BRL)

Population: 201,103,330

Gross Domestic Product (official exchange rate): USD 1.499 trillion

Gross Domestic Product per capita (PPP): USD 10,200

Major Trading Partners: United States, Argentina, China, the Netherlands, Germany

Political Data

Type of Government: Federal Republic

Date of Establishment: 15 November 1889

Legislature: Bicameral National congress (Congresso Nacional), which is comprised of the Federal Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

Head of State: President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva

Head of Government: President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva

Background

At the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit, the G5 commenced the Heiligendamm Process, a two-year initiative focusing on four key issues: cross-border investment, research and innovation, energy efficiency, and development (especially in Africa).¹ The process was designed to create a more structured dialogue process between the G8 and the leading emerging economies.

At the conclusion of the L'Aquila Summit in July 2009, the G8 and G5 issued a landmark joint declaration. In this declaration, they reported on the conclusions and achievements of the Heiligendamm Dialogue Process (HDP) and laid the groundwork for the Heiligendamm-L'Aquila Process (HAP). In the statement, leaders recognized the need to broaden the scope of these discussions and allow more flexibility to take up pressing global challenges. In addition, leaders agreed as well to strengthen the strategic orientation, and to explore the possibilities for increasing coordination between the HAP and other multilateral forums of cooperation.² However, given that Brazil has not been extended an invitation to participate in the G8 Summit as a member of the G5, they will have to seek completion of their objectives at the G20 Summit instead.

¹ Group of Five, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 11 August 2008. Date of Access: 8 June 2009.
<http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/g5/index.html>.

² Heiligendamm L'Aquila Process, Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) (La Murette). Date of Access: 5 January 2009.
http://www.oecd.org/site/0,3407,en_21571361_40549151_1_1_1_1_1,00.html.

Brazil's key priority for the 2010 G20 Toronto Summit focuses on the continued restoration of the world economy and continued liberalization of international trade. Brazil is a strong advocate for anti-protectionist policies, which is in alignment with the majority of states in the G20. Brazil's secondary objective would be to push for quicker and increased reform of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Lead Analyst: Augustine Kwok

Objective 1: Economic Growth and Recovery [0.75]

In advance of the 2010 Toronto G20 Summit, Brazil has made it clear that it plans to propose that countries continue to pursue policies to stimulate economic growth.³ In a statement from the Ministry of External Relations, Brazil pointed to the fact that the outlook for world economies is still the subject of debate and that the situation is fragile, especially when considering that many countries have unemployment rates upwards of 10%. Brazil's finance minister, Guido Mantega, stated that a Canadian proposal to halve budget deficits by 2013 "...is too draconian, a little difficult, a little exaggerated. In addition, he stated, "...if we act hastily, if we are excessive in adopting the new fiscal policy adjustments, we could jeopardize the growth we have achieved. It is reasonable then to expect that Brazil will push for a recognition of the importance of stimulus measures and fight any hard targets for deficit reduction."⁴

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 does not discuss issues regarding possible stimulus measures for economic growth. No communiqué/statement is released.
0.25	The G20 issues communiqués/joint statements that describe the significance of stimulus measures to boost economic growth and recovery. However, no effective action plans are made to further these aims.
0.5	The G20 countries propose and adopt an action plan that keep stimulus measures in place into the medium term to further economic growth and recovery OR they do not propose hard targets for deficit reduction
0.75	The G20 countries propose and adopt an action plan that keep stimulus measures in place into the medium term to further economic growth and recovery AND they do not propose hard targets for deficit reduction.
1	The G20 countries propose and adopt an action plan recognizes keep stimulus measures in place into the medium term to further economic and recovery AND they do not propose hard targets for deficit reduction AND they recognize the importance of national conditions when deciding economic policy moving into the long term

³ Brasil propondra estimular el crecimiento global en G-20, Spanish.China.Org.CN (Beijing) 13 June 2010. Date of Access : 20 June 2010. http://spanish.china.org.cn/international/txt/2010-06/13/content_20257951.htm.

⁴ Brasil propondra estimular el crecimiento global en G-20, Spanish.China.Org.CN (Beijing) 13 June 2010. Date of Access : 20 June 2010. http://spanish.china.org.cn/international/txt/2010-06/13/content_20257951.htm.

Prospects

The concurrent nature of the G8 and G20 Summits as well as the bodes for healthy discussion of this topic. However the divided nature of the G20, and even the G8, on matters related to deficit reduction and stimulus measures means that Brazil might have to compromise on a deficit reduction target if it is to get recognition of the importance of stimulus measures in the medium term.

Postscript

In the G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, it was noted that the countries agreed on, “following through on fiscal stimulus and communicating ‘growth friendly’ fiscal consolidation plans.”⁵ This means that Brazil was successful in achieving its objective of maintaining stimulus measures in place into the medium term. Furthermore, in Article 10, the G20 does issue a statement where they recognize that the “risk of synchronized fiscal adjustment across several major economies could adversely affect the economy.”⁶

Therefore, in reference to the G-20 commitment to halve deficits by 2013 and stabilizing/reducing government debt-to-GDP ratios by 2016, Brazil has managed to ensure that no universally-binding hard targets were established within the text of the communiqué.

Objective 2: Reform of International Financial Institutions [0.75]

Brazil’s second major objective at this year’s G20 Summit is to propose the development and implementation of a mechanism to regulate financial markets,⁷ or on a larger scale, the reform of International Financial Institutions (IFIs).

Brazil considers it important to complete the work initiated at the G20 Summit in Washington through the implementation of increased regulation in all markets. Brazil will also be pushing for continued reformation of the WB and IMF, and has stated that WB reforms to date are “satisfactory” and that with the IMF reform deadline set at the end of this year, the 2010 Summit will be the perfect opportunity to jumpstart talks.⁸

⁵ Article 10, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁶ Article 10, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷ Brazil to propose maintenance of global growth stimulus at G20 Summit, Xinhua News (Brasilia) 13 June 2010. Date of Access: 18 June 2010. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/business/2010-06/13/c_13348861.htm.

⁸ Brasil propondra estimular el crecimiento global en G-20, Spanish.China.Org.CN (Beijing) 13 June 2010. Date of Access : 20 June 2010. http://spanish.china.org.cn/international/txt/2010-06/13/content_20257951.htm.

Finally, in a concerted effort with its BRIC partners, Brazil will be pushing to be “given more say in global financial institutions such as the WB and IMF, “but hesitates in joining those who call for the establishment of a new international reserve currency.”⁹

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 does not discuss issues regarding IFI reform and increasing the voice of developing nations at the IMF and the World Bank. No communiqué/statement is released.
0.25	The G20 issues communiqués/joint statements that describe the significance of implementing IFI reform and . However, no effective action plans are made to further these aims.
0.5	The G20 proposes and adopts an action plan to for voice reform in the IMF but adopts no action plan with regards to a competitive process in picking IMF and World Bank heads.
0.75	The G20 reiterates the importance of furthering IFI reform AND adopts an action plan for voice reform in the IMF and the World Bank AND adopts an action plan with regards to a competitive process in picking IMF and World Bank heads.
1	The G20 reiterates the importance of furthering IFI reform AND adopts an action for voice reform in the IMF and the World Bank AND adopts an action plan with regards to a competitive process in picking IMF and World Bank Heads AND calls for further discussions on for increasing the voice of developing countries at the IMF And World Bank.

Prospects

According to the G20 provisional agenda set out by Prime Minister Harper, leaders will “focus on banking reforms aimed at strengthening international financial institutions,”¹⁰ as outlined at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh. According to the G8 agenda however, there will be no discussion of economic objectives, and instead, discussions will focus on the introduction of a global bank tax and a reduction to trade barriers. Prime Minister Harper and sources within the Canadian delegation have already indicated that they intend to stick very closely to the proposed agenda. With this in mind, the prospects for any discussion or action plan on this objective at the G8 Summit are slim. Prospects for discussion at the G20 Summit are substantially higher however, given current global trend leaning towards calls for increased regulation and IFI reforms to favour the under-represented countries.

Postscript

Brazil achieves a score of 0.75 on this objective as the G20 does in fact reiterate the importance of furthering IFI reform. The G20 have committed to strengthening legitimacy, credibility and

⁹ China, Brazil sign deals at shortened BRIC summit, Reuters (Brasilia) 15 April 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN1522786520100415>.

¹⁰ Background: Summit Issues, The Globe and Mail (Toronto) 11 May 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/g8-g20/background-summit-issues/article1547024/>.

effectiveness.¹¹ Having already fulfilled their Pittsburgh Summit commitments,¹² the G20 has moved to endorse important voice reforms at the World Bank.¹³ In addition, the G20 has underscored their resolve to ensuring ratification of 2008 IMF Quota and Voice Reforms.¹⁴ Finally, the G20 has pledged to strengthen the selection process for IFI heads, by moving towards open, transparent and merit-based selection processes.¹⁵

Analyst: Augustine Kwok

¹¹ Article 24, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹² Article 25, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹³ Article 27, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹⁴ Article 28, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹⁵ Article 30, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

China

Economic Data

Currency: Chinese Yuan Renminbi (CNY)

Population: 1,330,141,295

Gross Domestic Product (Official Exchange Rate): USD 4.814 trillion

Gross Domestic Product per capita (PPP): USD 6,600

Major Trading Partners: United States, Japan, South Korea, Germany

Political Data

Type of Government: Communist State

Date of Establishment: 1 October 1949

Legislature: Unicameral National People's Congress (Quanguo Renmin Daibiao Dahui)

Head of State: President Hu Jintao

Head of Government: Premier Wen Jiabao

Background

China first became involved with the G8 at the Evian Summit of 2003 under the leadership of President Hu Jintao. To date, President Hu has attended all six of the G8 summits to which he was invited (China was not invited to the 2004 Sea Island Summit by the United States).¹⁶

China was involved in the drafting of several joint statements by the G8/G5, the most recent being a G5 declaration issued on 8 July 2009.¹⁷ Further, China has committed to a number of G8/G5 initiatives, such as the 2009 L'Aquila promise to partake in a "global recovery agenda for balanced, inclusive, sustainable growth."¹⁸

At a press conference by the Chinese G20 delegation for the 2009 Pittsburgh Summit, the director-general of the Department of International Organizations and Conferences of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wu Hailong, provided a list of China's concerns going into the summit. According to Wu, issues such as the reform of international financial systems, economic recovery and future challenges, climate change, energy and trade, and the reform of financial regulations and supervision were among China's most pressing international concerns.¹⁹

¹⁶ 2009 L'Aquila Summit Expanded Dialogue Country Assessment Report, G8 Research Group (Toronto) 8 July 2009. Date of Access: 15 June 2010.

¹⁷ G5 Declaration, G8 Information Centre (Toronto) 8 July 2009. Date of Access: 15 June 2010.

<http://www.g7.toronto.ca/summit/2009laquila/2009-g5declaration.pdf>.

¹⁸ The Pittsburgh Summit: Key Accomplishments, The White House (Washington DC) 24-25 September 2010. Date of Access: 15 June 2010. <http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/resources/129665.htm>.

¹⁹ China puts forward four-point declaration for G20 Summit, Global Times (Beijing) 25 September 2009. Date of Access: 15 June 2010. <http://business.globaltimes.cn/china-economy/2009-09/471953.html>.

At this year's G20 Toronto Summit, China will revisit a number of the aforementioned issues in its discussions with its fellow members. As one of the world's leading economic powers, China's key priorities for this year's summit include the world economy and trade.

Traditionally, the Brazil-Russia-India-China (BRIC) countries have held common interests in areas such as trade protectionism and climate change.²⁰ Additionally, China has made plans to cooperate with South Korea²¹ and Germany²² on economic issues during negotiations.

Lead Analyst: Hermonie Xie

Objective 1: World Economy [1]

China's world economic priorities for the 2010 G20 Toronto Summit include discussing reform of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and trade liberalization.

On 10 May 2009, in a telephone conversation with Spanish Premier Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, Premier Wen Jiabao said that, "The international community needs to further enhance co-operation with long term efforts."²³ During the conversation, Premier Wen detailed a three-point proposal to combat the financial crisis: "strengthening macroeconomic policy coordination and boosting market confidence, reforming the international financial system and strengthening regulation, and upholding free trade."²⁴

China has been an advocate of anti-protectionism. At the 2009 L'Aquila Summit, China and the G8/G5 committed to "resist protectionism and promote open markets for trade and investment."²⁵ On 16 April 2009, following a daylong summit in Brasilia, China and the BRIC nations issued a communiqué pledging to "resist all forms of trade protectionism and fight disguised restrictions on trade."²⁶ In accordance with this commitment, on 11 May 2009, China and the BRIC nations aligned in opposition to a new set of protectionist measures proposed by

²⁰ 2009 L'Aquila Summit Expanded Dialogue Country Assessment Report, G8 Research Group (Toronto) 8 July 2009. Date of Access: 16 June 2010.

²¹ Presidents of China, Germany pledge stronger ties, oppose protectionism, The Government of China Official Website (Beijing) 17 May 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. http://english.gov.cn/2010-05/17/content_1607883.htm.

²² Presidents of China, Germany pledge stronger ties, oppose protectionism, The Government of China Official Website (Beijing) 17 May 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. http://english.gov.cn/2010-05/17/content_1607883.htm.

²³ Wen discusses int'l cooperation to combat financial crisis with Spanish counterpart, The Government of China Official Website (Beijing) 10 May 2010. http://www.gov.cn/misc/2010-05/10/content_1603109.htm.

²⁴ Wen discusses int'l cooperation to combat financial crisis with Spanish counterpart, The Government of China Official Website (Beijing) 10 May 2010. http://www.gov.cn/misc/2010-05/10/content_1603109.htm.

²⁵ G8+G5 Declaration – Promoting the Global Agenda, 2010 G8 Summit Official Website (Muskoka) 14 January 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://g8.gc.ca/about/past-summits/summit-documents-2009/g8g5-declaration/>.

²⁶ BRIC leaders urge resistance to trade protectionism, People's Daily (Beijing) 16 April 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6953777.html>.

the United States and the European Union.²⁷

At present, China maintains its strong position against barriers to trade. At a recent news conference on 15 March 2010, Premier Wen declared that trade protectionism, “has not dissipated but gotten worse” and that, “all countries should be fully alarmed by such a development.”²⁸

During past summits, China has argued for the reform of IFIs to give greater voting rights to developing nations,²⁹ an objective recognized in a G5 commitment following the L’Aquila Summit. Additionally, at the 2009 London and Pittsburgh Summits, the G20 made a commitment to “modernize the infrastructure to global economic cooperation.”³⁰ This commitment gives developing economies a greater influence in today’s global economy by instituting a shift of “at least 5% in International Monetary Fund (IMF) quota shares from over represented countries to under-represented countries.”³¹

However, China remains concerned about the speed at which the quota is adjusted. According to the Chinese government’s official web portal, the previous quota reform, which was approved by the IMF Committee (IMFC) in 2008, has not been completed until now. Consequently, China is likely to push for additional and accelerated quota adjustments by the IMF at this year’s G20 summit.

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 does not discuss financial reform and resisting protectionism. No communiqué/statement is released.
0.25	The G20 issues communiqués/joint statements that describe the significance of advancing financial reform and resisting protectionism. No effective action plans are made to further financial reform and combat protectionism.
0.5	The G20 countries propose an action plan to further financial reform or combat protectionism
0.75	The G20 reiterates the importance of furthering financial reform and combating protectionism. They commit to an action plan to increase and accelerate quota adjustments or to adopt policies that limit protectionism. The G8 does not issue an action plan or communiqués which are in direct opposition to the G20’s plan.
1	The G20 reiterates the importance of furthering financial reform and combating protectionism. They commit to an action plan to increase and

²⁷ India, China & Brazil fight G8 protectionism, Financial Chronicle (New Delhi) 11 May 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://www.mydigitalfc.com/news/india-china-brazil-fight-g8-protectionism-857>.

²⁸ Quotes from Wen’s news conference, China Daily (Beijing) 15 March 2010. Date of Access: 18 June 2010. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010npc/2010-03/15/content_9588233.htm.

²⁹ China puts forward four-point proposal for G20 Summit, Global Times (Beijing) 25 September 2009. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://business.globaltimes.cn/china-economy/2009-09/471953.html>.

³⁰ The Pittsburgh Summit: Key Accomplishments, The White House (Washington DC) 24-25 September 2010. Date of Access: 26 June 2010. <http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/resources/129665.htm>.

³¹ The Pittsburgh Summit: Key Accomplishments, The White House (Washington DC) 24-25 September 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/resources/129665.htm>.

accelerate quota adjustments and to adopt policies that limit protectionism. Furthermore, the G8 issues an action plan or communiqué which complements the G20's report.
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Prospects

The final communiqués of the most recent G20 and G8 summits have pledged to “reform the international financial system”³² with the goal of accelerating global economic recovery. Last year, the G8 pledged to refrain from raising new tariffs and the G20 drafted a framework for strong, sustainable and balanced growth that discourages protectionism. On 23 April 2010, a communiqué issued by the G20 finance ministers reaffirmed the significance of financial regulatory reform issues. In the joint communiqué, the ministers reaffirmed their “strong commitment to fully implement our reform agenda on timelines agreed by Leaders in London and Pittsburgh.”³³ This year, it is likely that the G8/G5 will make further commitments on financial reform and anti-protectionism.

Postscript

China has received a score of 1 for its world economy objective. Financial sector reform was a topic of discussion at the G20 Summit. The G20 recommitted itself to achieve the commitments made at the prior Washington, London and Pittsburgh Summits, in addition to establishing a reform agenda built upon four pillars: strong regulatory framework; establishment of effective supervision; resolution and addressing systemic institutions; and, transparent international assessment and peer review.³⁴

This was achieved in addition to the commitments promised towards IFI reform and development, within which, the G20 has moved to endorse important voice reforms at the World Bank.³⁵ In addition, the G20 has underscored their resolve to ensuring ratification of 2008 IMF Quota and Voice Reforms.³⁶ Finally, the G20 has pledged to strengthen the selection process for IFI heads, by moving towards open, transparent and merit-based selection processes.³⁷

Finally, China has further achieved this objective through the G20's commitments to continue fighting protectionism and promoting free trade and investment, renewing this promise for a period of three years.³⁸

³² The Pittsburgh Summit: Key Accomplishments, The White House (Washington DC) 24-25 September 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/resources/129665.htm>.

³³ Communiqué: Meeting of G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, G20 Information Centre (Toronto) 23 April 2010. Date of Access: 16 June 2010. <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2010/g20finance100423.html>.

³⁴ Articles 16-22, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

³⁵ Article 27, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

³⁶ Article 28, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

³⁷ Article 30, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

³⁸ Article 36, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

In the released communiqué at the conclusion of the 2010 G8 Summit in Muskoka, the members of that organization renewed their commitment to the resistance of protectionist pressures and the promotion of liberal trade and investment.³⁹ With these developments, China has achieved a score of 1.

Analyst: Hermonie Xie

Objective 2: Exclusion of Renminbi Adjustment/Revaluation Issue [0.75]

In addition to their first objective, China has stated that it will object to any mention of adjustment or revaluation of the renminbi in Summit documents, insisting that the issue is a sovereign matter that should not be discussed in a global forum.⁴⁰ This is as a follow up to the events of 19 June 2010, when Chinese officials announced that they would allow more flexibility in the renminbi exchange rate.⁴¹ A number of sources have suggested that this announcement was in part intended to preclude discussion of the issue in the G8 and G20.⁴² Thus, an achievement of China’s objective in this regard will be measured by their ability to persuade the other members of the G20 to agree that “Beijing alone should determine yuan policy.”⁴³

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 explicitly mentions China and the revaluation of the renminbi in a released communiqué, demanding that further action is taken along the same lines.
0.25	The G20 issues a communiqué which simply makes mention of China and the revaluation of the renminbi.
0.5	The G20 issues a communiqué which makes mention of China and the revaluation of the renminbi. The mention is welcoming/approving of China’s action but does not call for further action.
0.75	The G20 releases a communiqué which does not directly mention China and

³⁹ G8 Muskoka Declaration: Recovery and New Beginnings, 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit (Huntsville) 26 June 2010. Date of Access: 26 June 2010.

⁴⁰ “China Vows not to Bow to Currency Pressure,” Foster Klug, The Globe and Mail (Toronto) 26 June 2010. Date of Access 27 June 2010 <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/g8-g20/economy/china-vows-not-to-bow-to-currency-pressure/article1619738/>

⁴¹ “China Signals a Gradual Rise in Value of its Currency,” Keith Bradsher, The New York Times (New York) 19 June 2010. Date of Access 27 June 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/20/business/global/20yuan.html?ref=yuan>

⁴² “China Vows not to Bow to Currency Pressure,” Foster Klug, The Globe and Mail (Toronto) 26 June 2010. Date of Access 27 June 2010 <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/g8-g20/economy/china-vows-not-to-bow-to-currency-pressure/article1619738/>

⁴³ G20 Drops China-Sensitive Plaudits on Yuan reform, Reuters (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010. <http://abcnews.go.com/Business/wireStory?id=11026009>.

	the revaluation of the renminbi.
1	The G20 releases a communiqué which makes no mention of China and the revaluation of the renminbi. Furthermore, the communiqué has the G20 acknowledging individual states' sovereignty over currency policy.

Prospects

China has been quite vocal in its opposition to any mention of its currency policy. With this in mind, there is significant pressure from the international community for China to do more and the members of this party may be successful in including a mention (positive, neutral, condemnatory) of China in the final communiqué. However, given that China is a major player in the international community and does bear both significant resources and influence, they may be successful in this objective.

Postscript

China has achieved a score of 0.75 in this objective as the G20 communiqué makes no mention of China or its earlier revaluation of the renminbi. Although world leaders have taken the time to welcome China's decision or to handle media inquiries into the matter, ultimately, China has managed to prevent this issue from appearing within the communiqué.

Analyst: Hermonie Xie

India

Economic Data

Currency: Indian Rupee (INR)

Population: 1,173,108,018 (July 2010 estimate)

Gross Domestic Product (official exchange rate): USD3.56 trillion (2009 estimate)

Gross Domestic Product per capita (PPP): USD3,100 (2009 estimate)

Major Trading Partners: China, European Union, Japan, Russian Federation, United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Political Data

Type of Government: Federal Republic

Date of Establishment: 26 January 1950

Legislature: Bicameral Parliament (Sansad) with Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and the People's Assembly (Lok Sabha)

Head of State: President Pratibha Patil (since 25 July 2007)

Head of Government: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (since 22 May 2004)

Background

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, India has a significant presence at many G8 summits. India was first invited at the 2003 Evian-les-Bains G8 summit in France, along with other emerging economies; followed by invitations to the 2005 and 2007, 2008 and 2009 summits.

At the end of the 2009 G8 L'Aquila Summit, the joint declaration titled *Promoting the Global Agenda* placed a heavy emphasis on tackling global challenges collectively;⁴⁴ an indication that the G8-G5 partnership is a major step forward in multilateral decision-making. Since declaring the G20 as a premier forum for international cooperation, India's participation at last year's G20 meetings in London and Pittsburgh led to discussions primarily on the state of the world economy, regulation, protectionism, international financial development aid and African development.^{45,46} India's engagement with the G8 through the Heiligendamm Process (HDP) 2008, the Heiligendamm-L'Aquila Process (HAP) 2009 and at other multilateral forums such as

⁴⁴ Promoting the Global Agenda, Joint Statement Issued Italy, Brazil, Canada, the People's Republic of China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the President of the European Commission, together with the Leaders of Egypt and Sweden, as President of the European Council on the occasion of the 2009 G8 L'Aquila Summit (L'Aquila), 09 July 2009. Date of Access: 10 December 2009. http://www.g8italia2009.it/static/G8_Allegato/G8_G5_Joint_Declaration.pdf

⁴⁵ India expects a positive outcome from G20 summit, The Hindu (Chennai), 02 April 2009. Date of Access: 01 June 2010. <http://www.thehindu.com/2009/04/02/stories/2009040255361000.htm>

⁴⁶ India Review: The Pittsburgh Summit 2009, A Publication of the Embassy of India, Washington, D.C. (Washington), 01 October 2009. Date of Access: 15 June 2010. http://www.indianembassy.org/India_Review/2009/Oct%202009.pdf

the G20 and the 2009 Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen has only highlighted its growing prominence in the international arena.

Through the HDP and HAP, India has made a strong commitment to multilateral cooperation but has also been firm about its position on important topics such as climate change and the WTO Doha Round.

At the Copenhagen Conference, India was strongly opposed to capping greenhouse gas emission cuts which will curb its economic growth while emphasizing that developed countries needed to do more than just agree to emissions cuts.⁴⁷

However, towards the end of the G20 summit, Canada will be hosting a separate bilateral meeting with the Government of India⁴⁸ to discuss issues of import to both nations including a bilateral trade pact and a proposed nuclear deal. India is the only country to receive such an invitation at the end of the G20 summit⁴⁹ and the meeting is likely to precipitate a key bilateral agreements.⁵⁰

This year, India is attending the G20 summit taking place in Toronto immediately the G8 summit; but it will not be attending the G8 summit.⁵¹ India is expected to be active in all issues of discussion at the G8 summit that were identified by Canada. Even if it is not attending the G8 summit, it is expected to take up the issues at the G20 summit; specifically, the world economy, climate change, development and democratic governance.⁵² However, India is likely to address key topics, namely at the upcoming Summit; global economic recovery, energy and climate change.

Objective 1: Global Economic Recovery [1]

At the upcoming G8/G20 Summit, India is expected to be strongly vocal with respect to the challenges of global economic recovery and sustainable solutions necessary to maintain

⁴⁷ Big developing states reject Copenhagen climate plan, Reuters (New Delhi, London), 02 December 2009. Date of Access: 01 June 2010. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE5B14KC20091202>

⁴⁸ Harper—India's best friend, The Calgary Herald (Calgary) 25 June 2010. Date of Access: 25 June 2010. <http://www.calgaryherald.com/business/Harper+India+best+friend/3199280/story.html>

⁴⁹ Canadian PM to host Manmohan Singh after G20 summit, The Times of India (Toronto), 19 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Canadian-PM-to-host-Manmohan-Singh-after-G20-summit/articleshow/6066608.cms>

⁵⁰ Canada, India to sign key agreements during PM visit, Press Trust of India (Toronto), 13 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://www.ptinews.com/news/712191_Canada--India-to-sign-key-agreements-during-PM-visit-

⁵¹ G8 gives G5 a miss, so PM won't be at Canada high table, The Financial Express (New Delhi), 08 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.financialexpress.com/news/g8-gives-g5-a-miss-so-pm-wont-be-at-canada-high-table/630653/>

⁵² G8 From La Maddalena to L'Aquila, G8 The Italian Summit 2009 (L'Aquila), July 2009. Date of Access: 10 December 2009. <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/newsdesk/G8-2009.pdf>

economic growth. As a result of the financial crisis, Indian economic growth slumped from 9% to 7-7.5%⁵³ in 2008-2009 but is expected to range between 7.2-7.5%⁵⁴ and 8.8%⁵⁵ for 2010.

India has supported a fiscal stimulus strategy that is also supported by Canada and the United States. India will be look towards a “contra-cyclical fiscal stimulus”⁵⁶ and has announced that it will invest in infrastructure as a way to stimulate its economy.⁵⁷ Economic growth in India and in other developing countries has been reported to be “a driver of recovery in the industrialised world.”⁵⁸ Leading up to the summit, India has announced that it opposes a tax on banks, instead preferring tighter financial regulations.⁵⁹ India also will likely push for larger commitments for developed countries before it takes on commitments that will affect its economy and the economies of the developing world.

On the occasion of Canada’s Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s visit to India in November 2009, topics such as global economic recovery and the WTO Doha negotiations were on the top of the agenda. India aimed to strengthen economic and trade relations through formal mechanisms including a free trade agreement with Canada. Countries such as the United States through its National Security Strategy have also recognised that India will remain an important partner in the new international agenda.⁶⁰ Alongside China, according to the International Monetary Fund, India will be economic powerhouse by 2030.⁶¹ With the world’s second largest population, India is expected to be both a producer and consumer of goods and services, and this likely will put India as one of the world’s top economic and financial decision-makers in the world.⁶²

⁵³ India Economic Summit: Securing India’s Future Growth, World Economic Forum, (New Delhi), 16-18 November 2008. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

<http://www.weforum.org/en/events/ArchivedEvents/IndiaEconomicSummit/index.htm>

⁵⁴ PM: Will take steps to insulate people from high food price, Press Trust of India (New Delhi), 05 March 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.ndtv.com/news/india/pm-will-take-steps-to-insulate-people-from-high-food-prices-17244.php>

⁵⁵ Emerging economies head global rebound, The Times of India (Paris), 20 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/markets/global-markets/Emerging-economies-head-global-rebound/articleshow/6070128.cms>

⁵⁶ India Economic summit closes with warning of falling growth, “but no crisis,” World Economic Forum (New Delhi), 18 November 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

http://www.weforum.org/en/media/Latest%20Press%20Releases/PR_India08_CS

⁵⁷ India Economic summit closes with warning of falling growth, “but no crisis,” World Economic Forum (New Delhi), 18 November 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

http://www.weforum.org/en/media/Latest%20Press%20Releases/PR_India08_CS

⁵⁸ Emerging economies head global rebound, The Times of India (Paris), 20 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/markets/global-markets/Emerging-economies-head-global-rebound/articleshow/6070128.cms>

⁵⁹ India opposes tax on banks, Deccan Chronicle (New Delhi), 22 June 2010. Date of Access: 22 June 2010.

<http://www.deccanchronicle.com/business/india-opposes-tax-banks-833>

⁶⁰ India major strategic partner in new international order: US, Press Trust of India (Washington), 28 May 2010.

Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.ndtv.com/news/india/india-major-strategic-partner-in-new-international-order-us-28341.php>

⁶¹ With India, China leading, Asia set to match US, Europe, Indo Asian News Service (Washington), 16 June 2010.

Date of Access: 22 June 2010. <http://www.ndtv.com/news/world/with-india-china-leading-asia-set-to-match-us-europe-31980.php>

⁶² With India, China leading, Asia set to match US, Europe, Indo Asian News Service (Washington), 16 June 2010.

Date of Access: 22 June 2010. <http://www.ndtv.com/news/world/with-india-china-leading-asia-set-to-match-us-europe-31980.php>

At the WTO Doha Round of negotiations, India clashed heavily with the United States over cutting tariffs and subsidies. It maintained that opening up of its markets without sufficient tools, such as a special safeguard mechanism, to guard against imports can harm domestic production and manufacturing.⁶³ Furthermore, India has actively sought to increase its influence through (BASIC) or the group that includes Brazil, South Africa and China and through (BRIC), which includes Brazil, Russia and China. In April 2010 at the BRIC Summit, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh argued for a “multi-polar, equitable, democratic and just world order.”⁶⁴ He further reiterated that BRIC countries have “an important role to play in shaping the pace, direction and sustainability of global economic growth.”⁶⁵

In a statement made before leaving for the 2010 G8 Toronto Summit, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh noted India’s three objectives for the Summit: “to ensure that global economic recovery is durable, balanced and sustainable; to calibrate exit strategies in the light of growing concerns over expansionary fiscal policies; and to focus on medium and long-term structural issues relating to governance issues.”⁶⁶ This agenda coincides with the G20 agenda set by Canada especially global economic recovery. Both countries have co-chaired the G20 Working Group on the G20 Framework for strong, sustainable and balanced growth.

It also actively engaged with the G20 member countries in Pittsburgh and through finance ministers meetings and has always maintained clear positions on issues of interests.

Scoring Guidelines

0	None of India’s world economy priorities are discussed in detail at the Summit.
0.25	The G8/G20 discusses India’s world economy priorities but does not commit to any new initiatives in the final communiqué.
0.5	The final communiqué reflects a sustainable and long-term solution for global economic recovery, but the statements remain vague and do not demonstrate that the countries all agree on the stimulus strategy of economy growth, the degree of financial regulations, WTO trade negotiations and on how to reform financial institutions. India agrees to support the solutions, but does not set any specific goals.

⁶³ U.S. accuses China, India of threatening WTO Round, Reuters, 28 July 2008. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-34713620080728?feedType=RSS&feedName=businessNews&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%253A+reuters%252FINbusinessNews+%28News+%252F+IN+%252F+Business+News%29

⁶⁴ BRIC can recast world order: Manmohan, The Times of India (Brasilia), 16 April 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/5820505.cms>

⁶⁵ BRIC can recast world order: Manmohan, The Times of India (Brasilia), 16 April 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/5820505.cms>

⁶⁶ Prime Minister’s Statement prior to departure for Toronto, Canada for the G20 Summit, Ministry of External Affairs (New Delhi) 25 June 2010. Date of Access: 25 June 2010. <http://www.mea.gov.in/speech/2010/06/25ss01.htm>

0.75	The final communiqué sets targets and goals for long-term solutions for global economic recovery. Although they include commitments for financial and economic strategy, the countries set limitations on how it is implemented. India will argue for specific concessions on controlled stimulus spending and reforming financial institutions. India continues to demand concessions on the WTO trade negotiations and will only set specific targets with limitations.
1	The final communiqué setting specific targets and goals for long-term solutions for global economic recovery. They include specific commitments for financial and economic strategy, with few limitations. India strongly argues for specific concessions on controlled stimulus spending and reforming financial institutions. Although, India continues to demand concessions on the WTO trade negotiations, however, it will also seek to apply those targets equally to all countries.

Prospects

India will likely take a strong position in discussing the issue of the global economic recovery and the world's financial systems. It will maintain that tighter regulation and a mechanism for safeguarding the developing world's economic growth is the direction the G8/G20 ought to take.

With Canada and India on board for the issue of opposing the global bank tax, the issue may not reach consensus. India is also likely to call for attention towards reforming the IMF and increase its decision-making powers in the international organisation. Furthermore, India will also stand up for its call for a special mechanism to safeguard against negative effects on Indian agricultural production due to the WTO Round of trade talks. This may be supported largely by many African countries who are invited to the G8 summit by Canada.

It remains to be seen how well India will make its positions known as the G8 and G20 leaders meet in Toronto. There is no doubt; however, that Canada has given India a special platform by hosting them to a special meeting during the G20 summit.

Postscript

Global economic recovery was one of the most significant issues at the G8/G20 summit. The final G20 declaration specifically addresses targets and goals for this issue. The declaration notes that actions for sustainable and more balanced growth “will be differentiated and tailored to national circumstances”⁶⁷ This is certainly true for the issue of global bank tax, which was declared to be dealt with individually.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Article 10, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁶⁸ Article 21, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

India's priorities for controlled stimulus spending, reforming the financial institutions^{69,70} and regulation was included specifically. A target date for implementation was end-2012 for banking regulation framework.⁷¹ There is also a target date for developing policy recommendations for addressing problems associated with financial institutions by the Seoul summit in November 2010.⁷²

There was no mention of India's attempt towards gaining special consensus at the WTO Doha trade negotiations; however, "raising barriers or imposing new barriers to investment or trade in goods and services, imposing new export restrictions or implementing World Trade Organization (WTO)-inconsistent measures" were discouraged.⁷³

Lead Analyst: Farah Saleem

Objective 2: Energy Security [0.25]

India has been extremely active with the issue of energy security. It has been actively involved with the development of renewable sources of energy including biofuels and biogas through the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy. The Ministry is heavily involved in the development and use of new sources of energy which include biomass, wind, hydro, biowaste and solar energy.⁷⁴

India has several bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements with a number of countries. In January 2010, Hungary's visit to India culminated into discussions about civil nuclear energy cooperation⁷⁵; which India undertakes with a number of other countries including the Department of Energy of the United States of America.⁷⁶ This agreement comes at a time when Hungary chairs the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and had supported India in the Group

⁶⁹ Article 21, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷⁰ Article 27, 29, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷¹ Article 18, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷² Article 21, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷³ Article 36, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁷⁴ Major Achievements, Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (New Delhi) 31 March 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://mnre.gov.in/achievements.htm>.

⁷⁵ Visit of H.E. Dr. Peter Balazs, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary, Press Releases, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India (New Delhi), 19 January 2010. Date of Access: 14 May 2010. <http://www.mea.gov.in/pressrelease/2010/01/19pr02.htm>

⁷⁶ Memorandum of Understanding, Biofuels, Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (New Delhi) 3 February 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://mnre.gov.in/mous/mou-usa.pdf>.

leading up to the nuclear deal with the United States of America and through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)-approved nuclear waiver granted to India.⁷⁷

India also cooperated through with other members of the G8 including Japan through the India-Japan energy dialogue and with the EU through the India-EU Energy Panel and others through the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APPCDC).⁷⁸

Through the IBSA and BRIC, India has successfully engaged with the G5 on energy security and renewable sources of energy.⁷⁹

Scoring Guidelines

0	Energy security and related matters are not adopted into the final communiqués and/or joint statements issued upon the conclusion of the G8/G20 summit.
0.25	There is some indication the India has engaged the G8/G20 on energy security but no G8 communiqués are released discussing new initiatives. India's priorities are not included in the final communiqués.
0.5	The G8 releases communiqués and/or joint statements issued upon the conclusion of the summit with an action plan to tackle energy security issues. A few of India's priorities are included in the final statements.
0.75	The G8 releases communiqués setting targets and goals for dealing successfully with energy security and energy-related matters. India's priorities are included in the communiqués especially, energy cooperation, especially in the areas of nuclear energy and other new and renewable sources of energy. There is some momentum on concrete timelines for the discussed priorities.
1	The G8 and G5 discuss energy security, and India's priorities are addressed in detail in the final communiqués especially, energy cooperation, especially in the areas of nuclear energy and other new and renewable sources of energy. Concrete targets or timelines for the discussed priorities are provided in the statements.

⁷⁷ India-Hungary signs social security agreement Anand Sharma Meets Prime Minister of Hungary, Department of Commerce, Government of India (New Delhi) 4 February 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://commerce.nic.in/pressrelease/pressrelease_detail.asp?id=2540.

⁷⁸ International Bilateral/Multilateral Cooperation Framework between India and other countries for cooperation in Renewable Energy, Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (New Delhi). Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://mnre.gov.in/mou-international-mnre.htm>.

⁷⁹ India-Brazil Joint Statement, Visit of PM to Washington and Brasilia for Nuclear Security, IBSA and BRIC Summits, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India (New Delhi), 15 April 2010. Date of Access: 25 May 2010. <http://www.mea.gov.in/speech/2010/04/15ss01.htm>

Prospects

India's prospects for discussing energy security and related matters is high, given that it is part of the Main Economies Forum on Energy and Climate Change; the members of this forum are expected to be welcomed by Canada for the G20.

Having a successful nuclear cooperation deal with the United States and with the relevant IAEA approval, it is not surprising that India and Canada will be looking to further their energy cooperation. An agreement for Cooperation in Civil Nuclear Energy with the Canadian government has been announced as a significant topic for Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's G20 agenda.⁸⁰ This will increase India's access to nuclear resources.

Postscript

Energy security and related matters have only made to one section of the G20 declaration. Working with the Finance and Energy Ministers, the declaration noted the "implementation of strategies and timeframes, based on national circumstances, for the rationalization and phase out over the medium term of inefficient fossil fuel subsidies."⁸¹ However, India's priorities related to new and renewable sources of energy were not included, assigning the objective a score of 0.25.

Analyst: Farah Saleem

⁸⁰ Nuclear deal with Canada to top Manmohan's Toronto agenda, Times of India (New Delhi), 22 June 2010. Date of Access: 25 June 2010. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Nuclear-deal-with-Canada-to-top-Manmohans-Toronto-agenda/articleshow/6078800.cms>

⁸¹ Article 41, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

Mexico

Background

President Felipe Calderón has governed Mexico since 1 December 2006. He is affiliated with the largely conservative National Action Party and his six-year term will end in 2012 without the possibility of a re-election. The main foreign policy goals of President Calderón have been democracy, immigration, climate change and stronger economic relations with Asia.⁸² The 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit will be President Calderón's fourth G8 Summit.

Mexico remains preoccupied with recovery of the global economy. As part of its efforts to further the recovery of the global economy, Mexico has focused its advocacy on ensuring greater transparency for international organizations and the liberalization of international trade.⁸³

Mexico has continued with the "gradual and unilateral liberalization of its trade regime."⁸⁴ According to a report on Mexican trade policies and practices published by the WTO Secretariat, Mexico has "concluded new free-trade agreements, conducting 85 per cent of its trade with preferential partners. Mexico's economic performance has been solid and several sectors of its economy have achieved high levels of development."⁸⁵ The Mexican government is also seeking to diversify its economy away from its heavy reliance on the US.⁸⁶

Mexico's objectives for the 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit have been to pursue stronger financial regulation and oppose the bank tax. However, unlike its G5 counterparts, the Mexican government has not been very vocal in its calls for International Financial Institutions (IFI) reform. In light of the Cancun Conference, which will focus on the issues of African development and climate change, Mexico has also identified global environmentalism as objectives of interest for this Summit.

Objective 1: Global Bank Tax [0.75]

President Felipe Calderon has indicated that Mexico will oppose the bank tax strongly along with Canada at the G20 summit. It instead prefers tougher regulation citing that the Mexican banking system is healthy and well regulated which led to them weathering the financial crisis better than

⁸² Outline of Felipe Calderon's Foreign Policy, 28 March 2006. Date of Access: 23 June 2009. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/documents/Foreign_Policy.pdf.

⁸³ Yearender: 2009, difficult year for Latin American economies, Xinhua (Mexico City) 18 December 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content_12664128.htm.

⁸⁴ Significant progress but higher productivity is required, Trade policy review – Mexico 2008, World Trade Organization (Lanham) 11 February 2008. Date of Access: 20 June 2009. http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/tp295_e.htm.

⁸⁵ Significant progress but higher productivity is required, Trade policy review – Mexico 2008, World Trade Organization (Lanham) 11 February 2008. Date of Access: 20 June 2009. http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/tp295_e.htm.

⁸⁶ Yearender: 2009, difficult year for Latin American economies, Xinhua (Mexico City) 18 December 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content_12664128.htm.

other countries.⁸⁷ The banks also focused on “traditional lending rather than risky subprime loans or complex derivatives.”⁸⁸ Mexico has recently taken measures to curb money laundering due to drugs trafficking, by placing limitations on depositing money from illegal sources.⁸⁹ The country’s financial regulator has also indicated that instead its banking system needed to address capital liquidity with an emphasis on “mechanisms that banks have for liquidity and for obtaining liquidity in the market.”⁹⁰

Scoring Guidelines

0	None of Mexico’s world economy priorities are discussed in detail at the Summit.
0.25	The G8/G20 discusses the issues of global bank tax and financial regulation but do not address Mexico’s world economy priorities.
0.5	The G8/G20 discusses global bank tax and tighter regulations and mention Mexico’s priorities in the final communiqué.
0.75	The G8/G20 discusses global bank tax and tighter regulations and takes into consideration Mexico’s priorities. In the final communiqué, it announces specific strategies with timelines for the issues.
1	The G8/G20 discusses global bank tax and tighter regulations and mention Mexico’s priorities. They announce specific strategies to address the issues which also outline Mexico’s priorities in the final communiqués.

Prospects

There is a high likelihood that the global bank tax and financial regulation will be discussed at the summit. Mexico will likely address the issue in opposition to the European G8 countries. It will be joined by India on the issue from the G5 who is also opposing the issue.

At the G8/G20 summit, Mexico’s priorities of advocating for better capital liquidity and tighter regulation will be mentioned in the final communiqués but it remains to be seen if the G20 member countries all agree on a global bank tax; as it is believed that this would be a national issue rather than a global one.

Postscript

⁸⁷ Mexico sides with Canada on bank tax, *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 28 May 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/economy/mexico-sides-with-canada-on-bank-tax/article1585222/>

⁸⁸ Mexico’s Infonavit sees stronger lending in 2010, *Reuters* (Mexico City) 10 December 2009. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN1021785620091210>

⁸⁹ Mexico curbs drug money laundering, *Financial Times*, 15 June 2010. Date of Access: 25 June 2010. <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d5d13536-78cf-11df-a312-00144feabdc0.html>

⁹⁰ Mexico banks ahead of game in capital, *Reuters* (Mexico City), 03 May 2010. Date of Access: 22 June 2010. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE64253V20100503>

The G8/G20 Communiqué has specifically addressed global financial regulation with emphasis on banking regulation. However, the issue of a global bank tax is being pursued individually.⁹¹ The G8/G20 has stressed that there needs to be progress for a new global regime for bank capital and liquidity, something that Mexico is also concerned with.⁹²

Lead Analyst: Farah Saleem

Objective 2: Environment [0.75]

Under pressure from the EU, UN and Mexico, among others, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has finally agreed to include global warming on the Canadian agenda for the 2010 Muskoka Summit. Mexico has long been a strong proponent of advocating immediate measures to tackle global warming, with Mexican President Felipe Calderon stating that, “In Mexico, we cannot wait...for the developed countries to make a decision,” in reference to the stalemate that characterized discussions in Copenhagen last year.⁹³ Former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown echoed President Calderon’s thoughts.⁹⁴

President Calderon’s desire to see environmentalism and global warming addressed at the G8/G20 Summits stems mostly from the fact that he wishes to lay the groundwork for the Cancun conference to be held later this year. With Prime Minister Harper’s concession to adding global warming to the G8 agenda, Mexico will be seeking to work within Canada’s desire to, “strive to achieve a fair, effective and comprehensive post-2012 agreement that includes a robust system of emissions reduction monitoring, reporting and verification.”⁹⁵

Scoring Guidelines

0	None of Mexico’s climate change objectives are discussed at the Summit.
0.25	The final communiqué reaffirms past commitments but does not address Mexico’s current objectives.
0.5	The final communiqué mentions Mexico’s objectives but does not commit to any new initiatives.
0.75	The final communiqué addresses Mexico’s objectives and notes a commitment to

⁹¹ Article 21, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁹² Article 18, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

⁹³ PM’s aversion to climate talk, The Star (Toronto) 19 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

<http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorials/article/825226--pm-s-aversion-to-climate-talk>.

⁹⁴ 2010 make-or-break year to address five global challenges: British PM, Xinhua (London) 19 March 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2010-03/19/c_13217968.htm.

⁹⁵ Factbox – G8 draft seeks urgent push for 2015 aid goals, Reuters 31 May 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-48942620100531>.

	discussing change and actions are deferred until the Cancun conference.
1	The G8 discusses climate change, releasing communiqués or action plans that contain new initiatives to combat climate change. Furthermore, discussion on new initiatives and review measures are promised to be central to discussions at the Cancun Conference.

Prospects

Prime Minister Harper’s late inclusion of global warming to the Canadian G8 agenda means that any discussions on the environment that will take place will do so without the benefit of the “customary meeting of G8 environment ministers that has helped to lay the groundwork for every G8 summit since 1994.”⁹⁶ In addition, to the disjointed nature of this Summit – the lack of a clearly identifiable discussion between the members of the G8 and G5, it is feared that environmentalism and climate change will not even be discussed.

However, even in face of such opposition, President Calderon remains firmly committed to forcing climate change onto the G8/G20 agenda. In close discussions with South African President Jacob Zuma,⁹⁷ it was noted that the lack of action taken with regards to climate change will have severely negative repercussions on another issue which remains high on the of the European Union in their joint desire to “seal the tentative deal reached at the UN Summit in Copenhagen last year.”⁹⁸

Postscript

The final G20 declaration addresses environmentalism or climate change.⁹⁹ The G8/G20 has not taken any new initiatives for combating climate change, leading up to the Cancun conference. They are instead “determined to ensure a successful outcome through an inclusive process at the Cancun Conferences.”¹⁰⁰

Analyst: Augustine Kwok

⁹⁶ PM’s aversion to climate talk, The Star (Toronto) 19 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorials/article/825226--pm-s-aversion-to-climate-talk>.

⁹⁷ President Felipe Calderon to Visit South Africa, Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores (Mexico City) 7 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. http://portal3.sre.gob.mx/english/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=603&Itemid=9.

⁹⁸ On the Agenda: A look at the plans for the G8 summit, The National Post (Toronto) 19 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2010/06/19/on-the-agenda-a-look-at-the-plans-for-the-g20-summit/>.

⁹⁹ Article 41, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Article 41, The G20 Toronto Summit Declaration, 26-27 June 2010 (Toronto), 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

South Africa

Economic Data

Currency: Rand (ZAR)

Population: 49,109,107

Gross Domestic Product (Official Exchange Rate): USD 280.6 billion

Gross Domestic Product per capita (PPP): USD 10,100

Major Trading Partners: Japan, US, Germany, UK, China, Netherlands, Saudi Arabia

Political Data

Type of Government: Republic

Date of Establishment: 31 May 1961

Legislature: Bicameral Parliament

Head of State: President Jacob Zuma; Executive Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe

Background

South Africa is led by President Jacob Zuma of the African National Congress, who assumed the Presidency on 9 May 2009 following a general election. The African National Congress has retained a strong parliamentary majority since South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, this should allow the President to carry out his policy platform and legislative agenda.

President Zuma has stated that South Africa's foreign policy aims for the "creation of an environment conducive to sustainable economic growth and development."¹⁰¹ He noted that South African foreign relations will prioritize the African continent, but also that his state will continue to enhance its relations with the G8 and the European Union.¹⁰²

Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, Minister of International Relations and Co-operation, further outlined South Africa's foreign policy in an address to the National Assembly on 18 June 2009. South Africa's pillars of foreign relations include: enhancing bilateral relations, pursuing peace and security, and supporting post-conflict African reconstruction.¹⁰³ Along with the identification of regional integration, with a focus on strengthening the African Union and the South African Development Community (SADC) is a key aspect of the new policy agenda.

¹⁰¹ State of the Nation Address by His Excellency JG Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa (Cape Town), 3 June 2009. Date of Access: 1 July 2009. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2009/09060310551001.htm>.

¹⁰² State of the Nation Address by His Excellency JG Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa (Cape Town), 3 June 2009. Date of Access: 1 July 2009. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2009/09060310551001.htm>.

¹⁰³ Address by the Minister of International Relations and Co-operation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, to the National Assembly on the occasion of the Department of International Relations and Co-operation Budget Vote (Cape Town), 18 June 2009. Date of Access: 1 July 2009. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2009/09061910151001.htm>.

The Toronto G20 Summit will provide an opportunity for South Africa to exert its influence on the international stage and advance key issues that affect the African continent. It is expected that South Africa will focus on securing increased efforts towards the promotion of African development, as well as the push for the further expansion of developing nations influence in governing the affairs of the international community.

Lead Analyst: Augustine Kwok

Objective 1: African Development [0.25]

South Africa is a strong advocate for a sustained and meaningful focus on African development at the international level. South Africa continues to dedicate efforts towards achieving the aims of the Cairns Group, a coalition of nineteen agricultural exporting countries committed to reform in three areas: export subsidies, market access; and domestic support.¹⁰⁴

It is argued that aid pledged by the G8 has not been allocated in an efficient way that benefits the maximum number of people possible.¹⁰⁵ Further, it is argued that Africa will become more influential and important in the decades to come as “the main reservoir for world economic growth.”¹⁰⁶

South Africa’s Summit agenda mirrors the Canadian agenda, particularly regarding accountability, with both countries advocating increased aid accountability, specifically in the African development context. In the past, South Africa has consistently used the G8 as a forum to propose and discuss solutions to Africa’s development priorities, as it views the G8 as “the leading international forum for debating issues relating to the real economy and to development.”¹⁰⁷ At this year’s G20 Summit, South Africa will continue to campaign for increased attention to issues of African development, such as the transparency and accountability of aid contributions and ensuring that progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is expedited.

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 does not discuss issues of African development at the Summit.
0.25	The G20 discusses African development, but it is not prioritized as an issue in any of the released communiqués and/or joint statements.

¹⁰⁴ Cairns Group Statement, Cairns Group "Vision" for the WTO Agriculture Negotiations, “Completing the Task” (Geneva) 3 April 1998. Date of Access: 31 December 2008.

http://www.cairnsgroup.org/vision_statement.html.

¹⁰⁵ G8 must stop wasting food aid, says ActionAid, ActionAid 18 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/fromthefield/216723/58252ab50da6cb512c02c51c6ca69005.htm>.

¹⁰⁶ West must change approach to Africa, Africa News Blog 3 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/fromthefield/216723/58252ab50da6cb512c02c51c6ca69005.htm>.

¹⁰⁷ G8 Development Ministers’ Meeting, 2009 L’Aquila Summit (Rome). Date of Access: 20 June 2010.

http://www.g8italia2009.it/G8/Home/VersoIlVerticeG8/IncontriMinisteriali/G8-G8_Layout_locale-1199882116809_MinisterialeSviluppo.htm.

0.5	The G20 discusses the issue of African development and reaffirm the importance of meeting the MDG targets, but do not release any new action plan.
0.75	The G20 reaffirms the importance of focusing efforts on African development in released communiqués and/or joint statements. Furthermore, a new action plan is released which includes a new agenda for meeting African development targets.
1	The G20 reaffirms the importance of focusing efforts on African development in released communiqués and/or joint statements. Furthermore, a new action plan is released which includes a new agenda for meeting African development targets. In addition, new sources of financial assistance are secured.

Prospects

Canadian Prime Minister’s continued insistence on excluding the G5 from any substantive talks at the G8 summit will serve as a barrier to the achievement of South African objectives regarding African development at the G8 Summit. Fortunately, South Africa still has the G20 Summit as a potential forum in which to promote its’ interests. So, it remains possible that South Africa may indeed meet its objective of placing the issue of African development on the G20 agenda.

Postscript

Development has been addressed in the G20 communiqué, namely within Article 47, which states that they have agreed to establish a Working Group on Development in order to seek ways in which the development gap can be narrowed and poverty reduced.¹⁰⁸ In addition to this, the G20 has promised to fulfill their commitment to ensure “an ambitious replenishment for the concessional lending facilities of the MDBs, especially the International Development Association and the African Development Fund.”¹⁰⁹

Although these are acknowledgements of the issue, the fact that this is the extent to which the G20 has deigned to engage the issue of African Development, means that South Africa has failed to achieve its objective within their efforts within the G20.

Within the G8 however, South Africa has done exceptionally well in promoting the topic of African Development. In the G8’s released communiqué, Article 6 recognizes that African Development will remain a cornerstone of the G8’s approach. In addition, the G8 welcomed the “increased ownership that Africa has over its development process,” and reaffirmed their commitment to “continued collaboration between the G8 and African partners.”¹¹⁰ Finally, the

¹⁰⁸ Article 47, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Article 26, G-20 Toronto Summit Declaration, June 26 – 27, 2010, G20 (Toronto) 27 June 2010. Date of Access: 27 June 2010.

¹¹⁰ G8 Muskoka Declaration: Recovery and New Beginnings, 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit (Huntsville) 26 June 2010. Date of Access: 26 June 2010.

G8 pledged to refocus on meeting their Millennium Development Goal targets and called on the private sector to contribute to their completion, hopefully expanding the potential sources of aid.¹¹¹

Analyst: Augustine Kwok

Objective 2: Expansion of African Influence [0]

As a follow up to its efforts at the 2009 L’Aquila Summit, South Africa has once again placed an emphasis on increasing Africa’s role in international institutions. On 8 July 2008, South Africa, along with its fellow G5 members issued a Political Declaration reaffirming its commitment to “strengthened multilateralism”, and announced that pursuit of “action-oriented global partnerships” is a key strategic objective.¹¹²

South Africa has consistently supported strengthened multilateralism, as a means of addressing issues related to the world economy or climate change.¹¹³ South Africa has also advocated for a strengthened multilateral framework, that includes greater participation by G5 countries. Speaking at the FES-SWP North- South Dialogue in Germany on 21 April 2008, President Jacob Zuma asserted that the Heiligendamm Dialogue Process is “a significant development in the evolution of the G8/G5 relations,” but is “limited in mandate and time.”¹¹⁴ With the instigation of the Heiligendamm-L’Aquila Process (HAP), South Africa hopes to continue to work towards securing greater African participation in international affairs.

The ongoing global financial crisis has demonstrated that there has been a “true ebb of power from East to West...[that has] encouraged the new economic actors of the G20 to chase access to the 40 percent of the world’s mineral resources, and 1 billion consumers gathered in Africa.”¹¹⁵ South Africa, as the de facto representative of African interests at the G20 Summit will seek out greater international roles for both itself and its fellow African states.

Scoring Guidelines

0	The G20 does not discuss issues of expansion of African influence at the
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¹¹¹ G8 Muskoka Declaration: Recovery and New Beginnings, 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit (Huntsville) 26 June 2010. Date of Access: 26 June 2010.

¹¹² G5 Political Declaration (Sapporo) 8 July 2008. Date of Access: 14 June 2009. <http://pib.nic.in/release/release.asp?relid=40146>.

¹¹³ Speech by Ms Buyelwa Sonjica, MP, Minister of Minerals and Energy at the Renewable Energy Summit: Swan Lake Conference Centre, Centurion, Gauteng, South African Department of Minerals and Energy (Pretoria) 19 March 2009. Date of Access: 14 June 2009. <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2009/09032311151001.htm>.

¹¹⁴ Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma at the 7th FES-SWP North South Dialogue Hosted By The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Beyond Heiligendamm – The G8, Emerging Economies and Global Security Governance (Berlin) 21 April 2008. Date of Access: 14 June 2009. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/zuma/2008/jz0421.html>

¹¹⁵ West must change approach to Africa, Africa News Blog 3 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/fromthefield/216723/58252ab50da6cb512c02c51c6ca69005.htm>.

	Summit.
0.25	The G20 discusses this issue, but it is not prioritized in any of the released communiqués and/or joint statements.
0.5	The G20 discusses the issue of expansion of African influence and reaffirm the importance of increased engagement with African actors, but no concrete action is pledged to be taken.
0.75	The G20 discusses the issue of expansion of African influence and reaffirms the importance of increased engagement with African actors, but no concrete action is pledged to be taken. Furthermore, a new action plan is released which includes a new agenda for increased involvement of African actors AND/OR a strong push for WB, WTO and UNSC reform.
1	The G20 reaffirms the importance of increased African participation in debate on international issues in released communiqués and/or joint statements. Furthermore, a new action plan is released which includes a new agenda for promoting such interaction. In addition, the G8 releases a strong statement urging rapid reform of the WB, WTO and UNSC.

Prospects

Prime Minister Harper has indicated that the issues of maternal health and regional security will dominate discussions at the G8 summit, whilst G20 discussions will focus largely on economic issues. With this in mind, prospects for discussion of a greater role for Africa in international affairs appear slim, as the G20 will most likely discuss economic solutions for the duration.

Despite weak prospects for the achievement of South Africa's G20 objective, the country does have an ally among the G8 member states – France. French President Nicolas Sarkozy has indicated that he agrees that Africa should be given a stronger voice in world affairs and better representation on the UN Security Council.¹¹⁶ The final declaration of a two-day Africa-France Summit “underscored the importance of a new and greater African role in international institutions,” calling for, “reform of the UN Security Council, the acceleration of membership procedures for African States at the World Trade Organization, [and] an additional African seat in the Executive Board of [the] World Bank.”¹¹⁷

The importance of engaging African states in the response to international issues such as drug trafficking, corruption and terrorism has been recognized by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper by his establishment of an Africa Outreach session. According to Mr. Harper, “The G8 has a long tradition of developing credible solutions to global challenges in partnership with Africa and others in the international community,” he continues, “[a]t this year's summit, we will be engaging African leaders as well as key hemispheric partners in order to broaden representation and maximize results on international development and peace and security

¹¹⁶ French President Sarkozy backs African global role, BBC News (Nice) 1 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/10202964.stm>.

¹¹⁷ Nice Summit promotes a greater Africa in political, economic cause, Xinhua (Nice). Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.coastweek.com/xin%20040610-02.htm>.

issues."¹¹⁸

Postscript

There was little discussion on the issue of the expansion of the role of Africa in international institutions. The G20 Summit Declaration had no mention or evidence of any discussion on the expansion of Africa's role in the international community.

In their African Outreach session at the G8 Summit, South Africa was very successful in promoting the issue of expansion of African influence. In the 2010 Muskoka G8 Summit Declaration, it was noted that African development would remain a cornerstone of the G8's approach with a vague promise of future outreach and interaction with African states.¹¹⁹

Analyst: Augustine Kwok

¹¹⁸ Illegal drugs on table at G8 meeting, Canwest News Service (Edmonton) 14 June 2010. Date of Access: 20 June 2010. <http://www.edmontonjournal.com/news/Illegal+drugs+table+meeting/3150845/story.html>.

¹¹⁹ G8 Muskoka Declaration: Recovery and New Beginnings, 2010 G8 Muskoka Summit (Huntsville) 26 June 2010. Date of Access: 26 June 2010.