The
G7 Research Group
at the Munk School of Global Affairs at Trinity College in the University of Toronto
presents the

2014 Brussels G7 Summit Final Compliance Report
6 June 2014 to 30 May 2015

Prepared by
Enko Koceku, Sarah Burton, David Cosolo and Michael Humeniuk
with Caroline Bracht
G7 Research Group, University of Toronto

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www.g7.utoronto.ca
g8@utoronto.ca
@g8rg
Contents
Preface................................................................................................................................. 3
Executive Summary ............................................................................................................. 4
    Table A: Overall Compliance Scores ............................................................................. 6
    Table B: Compliance by Member .................................................................................. 7
    Table C: Compliance by Commitment ......................................................................... 7
2. Trade: Protectionism [12] .......................................................................................... 16
6. Climate Change: Climate Finance [49] .................................................................... 60
8. Deauville Partnership [70] ........................................................................................ 78
11. Health: Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health [88] ............... 119

“We reaffirm our support for a free, prosperous and democratic Libya which will play its role in promoting regional stability.”

Brussels G7 Summit Declaration

**Assessment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Lack of Compliance</th>
<th>Work in Progress</th>
<th>Full Compliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>−1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>−1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>−1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Score</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>−0.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Background**

Since the 2011 and the Arab Spring movement, political struggle has slowed the establishment of stable democratic institutions and peace in Libya. At the 2011 Deauville Summit, during the Libyan Civil War, the G8 Leaders demanded the “immediate cessation of the use of force against civilians” by the regime of Muammar Gaddafi, and committed to “supporting a political transition that reflects the will of the Libyan people.”

At the 2012 Camp David Summit, following the end of the Gaddafi regime and the establishment of Libya’s National Transitional Council, the G8 leaders made no specific commitments in Libya but stated that “the international community remains committed to actively support the consolidation of the new Libyan institutions.” The leaders reaffirmed their commitment to support regional efforts towards “economic reform, open government, and trade, investment and integration.” At the Lough Erne summit in 2013, the G8 leaders commended the progress made in the successful elections of August 2012. They focused on ensuring the persistence of new democratic institutions, urging Libyans to “engage with the political process of reconciliation and constitutional reform through peaceful and inclusive means, underpinned by respect for the rule of law.”

The collapse of central government and the return of militia warfare in 2014 has limited the reach of G8 commitments.

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Commitment Features

Support is understood as the enactment of measures that conduce to the furtherance of a goal. For the four aspects of the commitment: freedom, prosperity, democracy and regional stability, the enactment of any measure that contributes to their achievement or strengthening constitutes support for that goal.

Support for a “free … Libya” should be understood as enacting measures that support the promulgation and enforcement of laws that defend human, civil and political rights. Libya is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Therefore, the content of that treaty constitutes a useful benchmark against which to assess support for “freedom.”

The commitment emphasizes support for measures that contribute to bringing about democracy, freedom and prosperity in Libya. Measures that attempt to achieve one of these three goals cannot exclude the development of the others. For example, targeted investments to political parties or other special interest groups could further total prosperity but degrade the quality of democracy in the region. This would constitute non-compliance.

The G8 Leaders’ commitment focuses explicitly on the restoration of regional security. Measures that contribute to democracy, freedom and prosperity can promote domestic and regional stability indirectly. The centrality of the Leaders’ commitment to regional stability as an extension of their commitment to Libya suggests that a fully compliant country makes the achievement of regional stability an explicit part of its support for Libya.

For example, partial compliance would occur if a member dispatched advisers to Libya to help train police and judicial officers in interpreting new national laws, but that member did not explicitly state a connection between that measure’s purported effect and regional stability.

As a result, G7 members must either enact policies that target both domestic stability in Libya and in the region at large, or individual policies that target Libyan domestic stability and regional stability separately.

Scoring Guidelines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>−1</td>
<td>Member introduces no measures to support the development of freedoms, prosperity or democracy in Libya OR member introduces measures that exclude the achievement of other parts of the commitment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Member introduces measures that support the development of freedoms, prosperity and democracy in Libya BUT does not introduce measures to further regional security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>Member introduces measures that support the development of freedoms, prosperity and democracy in Libya AND introduces measures to further regional security.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canada: 0

Canada has partially complied with its commitment to reaffirm its support for a free, prosperous and democratic Libya which will play its role in promoting regional stability.

On 13 November 2014, following terrorist attacks in Libya, including attacks in the vicinities of the embassies of Egypt and the United Arab Emirates, Canadian Foreign Minister John Baird stated, “These cowardly attacks only reinforce our determination to continue supporting the Libyan people.

We join Libyans in rejecting terrorism and reiterating our full support of the efforts … to fostering an inclusive political dialogue and bringing an end to the current crisis.”

On January 27 2015, Baird stated “Canada is outraged at today’s terrorist attack on the Corinthia Hotel in Tripoli, Libya, which left several people killed and other injured. This cowardly and reprehensible attack illustrated the readiness of extremists to capitalize on the instability in Libya and their firm opposition to a peaceful, secure and prosperous Libya.”

In 2015, the Embassy of Canada to Libya partnered with International Medical Corps to provide relief aid for families in Benghazi displaced by recent clashes. This was partly funded by the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives. On 28 February 2015, aid kits were delivered to more than 1,000 Libyans.

Canada has contributed to the furtherance of its G7 commitments with respect to Libya, but has made no substantive effort to promote regional security. Therefore, Canada has been awarded a score of 0.

Analyst: Jennifer Commisso

France: –1

France has not complied in taking measures that support a free, prosperous and democratic Libya, which would ultimately play its role in promoting regional stability.

On 21 October 2014, the governments of France, Germany, Italy the United Kingdom and the United States released a joint statement that condemned the ongoing violence in Libya and called for the immediate cessation of hostilities: “We consider that Libya’s security challenges and the fight against terrorist organization can only be sustainably addressed by regular armed forces under the control of a central authority which is accountable to a democratic and inclusive parliament.”

On 17 February 2015, France, alongside Italy, Germany, Spain, the UK and the US, released a joint statement condemning all acts of terrorism in Libya. It stated that “the United Nations-led process to establish a national unity government provides the best hope for Libyans to address the terrorist threat and to confront the violence and instability that impedes Libya’s political transition and development.”

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Beyond simply condemning actions of terrorism, France has not put forth measures to substantially support the three aforementioned means to promote stability in the region. Therefore France has received a score of \(-1\).

*Analyst: Jennifer Commisso*

**Germany: \(-1\)**

Germany has not complied with its commitment to support the development of freedom, prosperity, and democracy in Libya or to promote regional security thereby. It has confined its activities to rhetorical support.

On 9 February 2015, at the EU Foreign Affairs Council meeting, Federal Foreign Minister Frank Walter Steinmeier expressed his support for the dialogue process facilitated by the United Nations Special Representative, which aims to include political dialogue within Libya.\(^{1130}\)

On 16 March 2015, Steinmeier travelled to Brussels for the EU Foreign Affairs Council meeting. He emphasized that once Libya reached a government of national unity and security measures had been fulfilled, Germany would provide additional support.\(^{1131}\)

Germany has expressed its support for the UNSMIL and forward political dialogue in order to promote regional stability, but has not introduced any measures specific to the furtherance of the commitment. Therefore, Germany has been awarded a compliance score of \(-1\).

*Analyst: Alexander Marshall*

**Italy: +1**

Italy has fully complied with its commitment to promote freedom, prosperity, and democracy in Libya, and has proposed measures to help improve the stability of both political and military bodies in the region immediately surrounding Libya.

Italy is faced with an especially complex situation due to its “geopolitical role and location” in relation to Libya.\(^{1132}\) Human trafficking is a major problem in Libya and Italy is the most common destination for those smuggled. Italy’s primary objective with respect to Libya has been finding solutions to the issue of human trafficking, which is largely the consequence of the turmoil and instability currently afflicting Libya.

As of April 2015, Italy is housing approximately 70,000 migrants from Libya.\(^{1133}\) European authorities are actively seeking ways to address this situation: there has been a proposal to provide funding to countries surrounding Libya to house and care for migrants before they leave for Italy.\(^{1134}\) Italy has also given consideration to setting up U.N.-sponsored refugee camps in Tunisia, Sudan and Niger in order to protect migrants and assess their refugee claims there so as to prevent them from


making the journey to Italy for naught. This has the capacity both to increase regional stability by increasing the diplomatic presence of European countries in unstable areas and to protect Libyans who are fleeing internal violence.

On 22 April 2015, Italian Defense Minister Roberta Pinotti revealed that there are “contingency plans for military intervention against smugglers in Libya,” and added that Italy would be prepared to lead such an operation if it were supported by the United Nations.

By disrupting people smuggling outside Libya, Italy has been contributing to weakening the factions that compromise prosperity, freedom and democracy within Libya. Since the Brussels Summit Italy has led an EU-backed Operation Triton, a “frontier control operation.” Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi has “called for EU leaders to approve three key proposals,” which include “doubling the resources and assets of the current EU border patrol mission,” as well as eliminating the vessels of traffickers and improving the coherence within the EU for transferring and protecting migrants who are seeking asylum. Renzi also called on the European Union to substantially increase its funding of “sea and air patrolling of the Mediterranean,” noting that the current annual budget for such an operation is EUR40 million, as compared to the EU’s total annual budget of EUR145 billion.

Italy has made efforts to mitigate the infringement of freedoms in Libya, and has made proposals that will improve upon this. It has also suggested measures to the European Union and the United Nations that can further promote regional stability. Therefore, Italy has been awarded a +1 rating.

**Japan: -1**

Japan has not built on the G7’s Brussels Summit commitment to further the prospects of peace and stability in Libya.

Unlike many European countries that have closed embassies in Libya, Japan retains an embassy in Tripoli. This suggests a willingness to encourage diplomatic relations and action in Libya. Japan has been a part of meetings about Libya, such as the meetings for the International Contact Group for Libya. However, it has not followed its attendance with substantive efforts.

The only measures Japan has taken have been in the area surrounding Libya. On 22 April 2014, Japan doubled a development loan to Jordan, an effort to provide regional support to “moderate”

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Middle Eastern countries in order to combat ISIL and promote regional stability. These measures were not explicitly connected to Libya.

Though Japan condemns violence in Libya, its noncompliance yields a score of $-1$.

*Analyst: Eliza Coogan*

**United Kingdom: 0**

The United Kingdom has partially complied with its commitment to support a free and democratic Libya.

Since the 2014 Brussels Summit, the UK has vocalized the importance of promoting stability and prosperity in Libya. With other Western powers, the United Kingdom has publicly denounced violence in Libya and called for a diplomatic solution in response.

In 2014, only one development and aid program was initiated for Libya by the UK. It promised to “improve security and justice services by providing the government of Libya with technical assistance.” This action was promised before the Brussels Summit and since said Summit, the UK has produced no new development projects targeting Libya.

In fact, only two months after the Summit, the UK closed its embassy in Tripoli, Libya. The UK has said that this, along with its aforementioned lack of development projects, is due to the increased conflict in Libya.

However, in late 2014, the United Kingdom launched a training program for Libyan army cadets to improve domestic security. This program, while unsuccessful, represented a substantive attempt to further its G7 goal. The UK has more recently declared that the solution to issues in Libya should not be pursued by military means.

The United Kingdom has made no explicit effort to bring security to the region as a whole through its Libya policies. Therefore, the United Kingdom has been awarded a score of 0.

*Analyst: Eliza Coogan*

**United States: +1**

The United States has fully complied with its commitment to developing freedom, prosperity, and democracy in Libya, as well as to fostering increased stability in the region.
The United States has “emphasized political reconciliation rather than military force as the solution for Libya’s conflict,” and claims that financial and institutional support “is available for the Libyans as they need it.” It has asserted that any aid given will be ineffective until a political resolution is reached and a new parliament is seated, and is thus reluctant to intervene.

USAID, the “lead U.S Government agency that works to end extreme global poverty and enable resilient, democratic societies,” has continued to distribute “emergency relief supplies, including food, water and emergency trauma kits” to the most severely damaged areas of Libya. USAID has also contributed to the World Health Organization’s “emergency health response,” as well as providing the necessary measures to ensure that “critical health care services remain available throughout the conflict.” This includes providing nurses, training Libyan nurses and providing support to field hospitals and trauma centres.

For the 2015 Fiscal Year, USAID has requested that USD9.5 million be earmarked for programs in Libya “to help consolidate democratic reforms” through capacity-building and supporting electoral process.

The United States has a long-time partnership with Egypt, one of Libya’s bordering states. The US has provided Egypt with substantial economic and military support because Egypt is seen as a key actor for stability in the region. Over the past two years, the United States has also supported counter-terrorism training in Tunisia, another border state. This is indicative of a concerted effort on the part of the United States government to foster stability in the region surrounding Libya.

The United States has made efforts to increase regional stability by maintaining a strong partnership with Egypt, and by sponsoring counter-terrorism training missions in North Africa. Thus, it has been given a rating of +1, which indicates full compliance with their commitment to Libya.

**Analyst: Matthew Boissonneault**

**European Union: 0**

The European Union has partially complied with its commitment to reaffirm its support for a free, prosperous and democratic Libya. It has not made explicit efforts to further regional stability.

On 25 October 2014, the Head of the European Union delegation to Libya, Nataliya Apostolova, reiterated calls for serious and constructive engagement with the Libyan Political Dialog launched in

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1147 [Is Libya a proxy war?](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/10/24/is-libya-a-proxy-war/)

1148 [Fighting in Libya threatens Western efforts to help its democracy](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/western-powers-temporarily-abandon-democracy-building-efforts-in-libya/2014/07/30/f5fc5264-17fe-11e4-9349-84d4a85be981_story.html)

1149 [Fighting in Libya threatens Western efforts to help its democracy](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/western-powers-temporarily-abandon-democracy-building-efforts-in-libya/2014/07/30/f5fc5264-17fe-11e4-9349-84d4a85be981_story.html)


1154 [Business as usual for Egypt and the West](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32490624)

Ghadames on 29 September. She further called for an immediate and unconditional cessation of hostilities.\footnote{1156}

On 27 October 2014, Ambassador Apostolova met with Prime Minister Abdullah Al-Thinni and other members of the Libyan government. She assured the Libyan Government of the EU’s continued support and its transition to a modern and democratic state based on the rule of law, good governance and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Ambassador Apostolova also reiterated the EU’s recognition of the Libyan House of Representatives as the sole legislative authority in Libya and stated that no parallel entity or authority in Libya, outside of that democratic and legal institutional framework, would be recognized.\footnote{1157}

On 14 January 2015, a round of political dialogue was launched under the auspices of the UN Special Representative for Libya, Bernardino Leon. There, the European Union Heads of Mission to Libya reaffirmed their full commitment for a united, inclusive, peaceful and prosperous Libya through the efforts of the SRSG. The EU ambassadors affirmed that there is no military solution and that transparent dialogue is the only way forward.\footnote{1158}

On 23 and 24 March 2015, the European Union hosted a meeting of thirty-four Libyan mayors and local leaders in order to encourage political dialogue as part of the UN-led Libyan Political Dialogue.\footnote{1159}

The European Union has taken steps to further its support and Libya’s transition to a modern and democratic state, but it has not taken concrete steps to promote regional security. Therefore, the European Union has been awarded a compliance score of 0.

\textit{Analyst: Alexander Marshall}