

ISSUE OBJECTIVES FOR THE 2002 G8 KANANASKIS SUMMIT

- Africa Action Plan -

Introduction

In the past year, the G8 Personal Representatives for Africa (APRs) have met at six official APR meetings to discuss the contents and implementation of a G8 Africa Action Plan. At the February 2002 meeting of APRs, it was confirmed that the Africa Action Plan would focus on the following areas: governance; knowledge and health; economic growth and private investment; peace and security; and agriculture and water. This has set an ambitious agenda for Kananaskis and high expectations for each of the above-identified areas.

1. Governance

Over the past decade, the concept of “good governance” has become a central component of aid policy of the industrialized countries and international development organizations. The end of the Cold War removed many of the security and political imperatives that defined relations between the first and third world countries. The result was new emphasis on the importance of various values of good governance like respect for the rule of law, human rights and democratic pluralism. The G7 as an organization joined the call for good governance in 1991 at the London Summit. It has since appeared in almost every Communique.

In the *Genoa Plan for Africa*, good governance remained a central component of the G7/9 approach to development. Indeed, in Genoa, it was given equal importance to the principles of responsibility and ownership as fundamental elements of the new partnership for Africa. Moreover, at the meeting of the APRs in Cape Town, governance was selected as one of the five areas on which the Africa Action Plan will focus upon. This will combine both political and economic governance.

The G8 response in the area of governance will no doubt focus on the *Democracy and Political Governance Initiative* and the *Economic and Corporate Governance Initiative*, both of which were agreed upon by the African leaders in the October 2001 *New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)*. In terms of political governance, the Leaders pledged to institutional reforms focused on: administrative and civil services; strengthening parliamentary oversight; promoting participatory decision-making; adopting effective measures to combat corruption and embezzlement; and undertaking judicial reforms. Participating countries themselves will take the lead in fulfilling these commitments but will be subject to a peer review mechanism.

In regards to economic and corporate governance, the Leaders agreed to establish a Task Force to review economic and corporate governance practices of the participating countries and to make recommendations on basic standards and good practices to be considered by the Heads of State Implementation Committee. Within this review, there will be a particular focus on public financial management. It is expected that the task force will report back in six months.

In terms of both of these areas, the G8 will no doubt pledge its support for African ownership of this reform process. Their role will be more likely supportive through the provision of existing technical assistance and expertise within their respective aid programs. One area that the G8 will probably attempt to play an integral role will be in the constructing and operation of the peer review mechanism. Given the frustration with the ineffectiveness of previous aid policies, this is seen as an important aspect of the plan that will help to ensure successful implementation.

2. Economic Growth and Private Investment

Trade and investment are seen as tenets of the current development policy prescription. In these areas, the meetings of the APRs with the NEPAD secretariat identified the following aspects as priorities:

- facilitation of private investment flows into Africa,
- increased market access for LCDs,
- further trade liberalization, and
- capacity building

It is not surprising that trade and investment are critical to the success of Africa Plan. The majority of developing countries saw their share of world trade decrease from 1980 to 1997 from 0.80% to 0.40% (while global merchandise exports increased by more than 200%). Overall aid to Africa declined from \$19-bn to \$12-bn a year, while Africa's share of global aid dropped from 37% to 27%. The OECD (and the G8) must open their markets to African products. Agriculture is the most significant areas of protectionist policies: A decline of 40% in EU's agricultural subsidies by 2005 would produce annual gains of \$15-billion for developing countries. A similar adjustment is needed in fisheries. "Our international partners must also ensure that all policies affecting African development prospects—in aid, market access, and debt—are coherent with the Millennium Development Goals," said the Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, "The EU's *Everything but Arms* initiative...should not be allowed to turn into *Everything But Farms*, with continued high subsidies for the EU agricultural sector. The recent US decision to increase farming subsidies by as much as 80% is another perfect example of how not to proceed." He called on the G8 to come up with a proposal for support that contained specific, time-bound deliverables.

Indeed, it is clear that trade liberalization and investment are among the prerequisites for a successful implementation of the Africa Plan. The individual statements of the G8 Heads of State and Government delivered at Monterrey, however, reveal a nuanced difference in approach to development, thus pointing to potentially more pronounced differences that will emerge at Kananaskis. The delegates should brace for a lot of give-and-take on the nitty-gritty of trade laws—subsidies, agriculture, textiles, and the definition of what constitutes the criteria for trade and investment deals. France and the EU will want to see a sweeping and environmentally sustainable development deal. Canada, for instance, will act more as a source of funding regardless of, say, the Kyoto ratification. In addition, the US definition of a "good" candidate will be motivated by political and strategic concerns more strongly than that of its European counterparts. The recent rise in US protectionism, as seen in the farm subsidies bill, will trigger a debate that far exceeds the immediate issue of African development and goes to the heart of the

ongoing trans-Atlantic trade dispute and to the future direction of the global economic system. It is likely that the Kananaskis Summit will not offer much beyond rhetoric in terms of trade and investment and will settle on only a few possible, executable commitments.

It can be expected that the G8 Leaders will address these issues at the Kananaskis Summit and reaffirm their commitment to trade facilitation and investment with an eye to development. Conferences and summits over the course of the past year, as well as the upcoming Johannesburg conference on sustainable development, represent concrete steps towards a more concerted poverty reduction strategy. The final statement will likely offer broad support for the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), as well as for the conclusions of the WTO Fourth Ministerial Conference (Doha (Qatar), 9–14 November 2001), of the International Conference on Financing for Development (Monterrey (Mexico), 18–22 March 2002), or of the World Economic Forum Annual Forum (New York, 31 Jan - 4 Feb 2002).

NEPAD's internal progress—such as the conference on 'Partnership with the Private Sector for financing Africa's growth through NEPAD' (Dakar, 15–17 April 2002)—will be the primary vehicle to attract FDI and should expect acclamation at Kananaskis.

The Kananaskis Summit is also projected to build upon a number of policy directives established at **Doha**, which committed the member governments to duty- and quota-free and improved market access for LDCs' exports. The Doha Development Agenda, intended to halve trade barriers in agriculture and textiles, would bring to the developing world an extra \$200-billion a year in income by 2015. The World Bank President Wolfensohn also indicated that "under the umbrella of the WTO, it is critical to improve market access, focusing in particular on the products that are most important to the poor—agriculture and labour-intensive manufactures." The costs of protection in agriculture run at US\$1-billion per day in OECD countries. Complete liberalization of merchandise trade and elimination of subsidies could add \$1.5-trillion to the developing countries' income. Thus, "Efforts to expand market access should be complemented by greater multilateral cooperation outside the WTO—there is a large '*aid for trade*' agenda that needs to be met by the development community." Financial support and technical assistance to complement trade liberalization programs (e.g. Integrated Framework for Trade-related Technical Assistance) are "urgently needed to improve the investment climate." Unilateral actions by the G8 "can do much to improve the ability of the poorest countries to use trade as an instrument for poverty-reducing growth." If the US, Canada and Japan followed the *Everything But Arms* trade liberalization initiative and granted duty-free access to LDCs, they would expand the LDCs exports by 10%. Nevertheless, although the G8 will accept the broad commitments set out at Doha, agriculture and other trade distorting mechanisms propping up these advanced industrial states' economies will not simply wither away at Kananaskis.

In addition to Doha, issues of financing will also no doubt be discussed. The Monterrey Financing for Development Conference was another giant step forward over the past year. The resultant Monterrey Consensus should step up domestic mobilization of *economic resources*; increase the flow and broaden the reach of private international *investment*; open *access to market* and ensuring fair and equitable *trade regimes*; strengthen official development assistance (ODA); solve developing country debt difficulties; improve the global and regional financial structures; and, promote fair representation of developing countries in international decision making. Monterrey "confirmed the widespread consensus on the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as common objectives of development policies." It also produced a

commitment on the part of the US and EU to increase substantially the volume of aid to facilitate the attainment of the MDGs, which are expected to raise an additional \$12-billion a year (from 2006).

It should be made clear that while new funds may be announced it is not expected to be anywhere close to the NEPAD's ambitious foreign investment target of \$64-billion per annum (more than seven times the amount of investment in Africa in 1999). Indeed, the G8 countries have made it clear from the beginning that the Action Plan will not equate into a giant cheque. "The underlying objective of the G8 Africa Action Plan is neither to provide a massive infusion of funding nor to underwrite NEPAD projects more generally. The goal is to put in place a new partnership that will unlock much greater resources, both public and private, over the long term." While "there is a genuine search on both sides for a renaissance for Africa," said the French APR, "we won't be able to find in our pockets a big sum of money for a big fund for Africa by June."

3. Knowledge and Health

Education

The G8 member countries have been long-time supporters of the United Nations Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All by 2015. However, while they support the general objectives, there are differing viewpoints on how the end goals of this plan can be achieved. Essentially, the disagreement lies between the United States, who is a proponent of bilateral efforts, and the rest of the G8 countries who prefer to take a multilateral approach.

At Kananaskis, G8 leaders are expected to review the progress their individual governments have made at implementing the Millennium Development Goals agreed to in the United Nations Millennium Declaration. Unfortunately, universal primary education has not been chosen as one of the explicitly articulated goals of the Summit. As such, it can be expected that leaders will give token support to this important issue, and it may be included in commitments related to the implementation of NEPAD, but no large scale action plan, or group donation of aid is expected.

Global Health Fund and the Fight Against Infectious Diseases

The Global Health Fund was the crowning achievement of last year's Summit in Genoa where G8 leaders announced their commitment to create a public-private partnership to finance effective activities to combat HIV/Aids, Malaria and Tuberculosis. Since last year over \$2,009,556,114 (US) has been donated to the Fund. However, this falls short of the \$7 – 10 billion (US) requested by Kofi Annan to help fight Aids in Africa.

In March 2002, the Global Health Fund issued its first call for potential projects and received over 300 proposals. These proposals were then presented at a board meeting in New York in April 2002. This meeting resulted in the fund awarding \$378 million (US) to be distributed over the next two years to 40 programs in 31 countries, in addition to 18 proposals selected for a fast-track process.

At Kananaskis leaders are expected to reiterate their support for the Global Health Fund. In recent months, many G8 countries (such as Canada and the United States) have pledged more money to the Fund. However, discrepancies again exist between the United States who supports bilateral initiatives and the remaining members of the G8 who are proponents of multilateral efforts. Activists have been critical of the NEPAD for its failure to address the health problems of developing countries. Still, it is expected that Kananaskis will result in at least one or two commitments and/or pledges from G8 countries for their support at eradicating HIV/Aids and the other infectious diseases.

Combating Hunger and Increasing Food Security

Even though “an estimated 16 million people in Southern Africa are threatened by the current food, nutrition and health crisis” and G8 member countries say that they are “deeply concerned about the deteriorating conditions in Southern Africa and ready to provide immediate support to those suffering from the growing food crisis,” food security does not have a place on the Kananaskis Summit agenda.

Given the enormity of the agenda within the Africa Action Plan as well as the other major issues to be addressed, it is unlikely that issues of combating hunger and increasing food security will receive significant attention. While leaders are expected to review their various poverty reduction initiatives, it is not expected that any major commitment relating to food security will be forthcoming at Kananaskis.

4. Peace and Security

Recognizing that strong and expanded infrastructure, higher standards of living, and economic growth are virtually impossible to develop in a state of conflict, both NEPAD and the G8 have stressed peace initiatives and measures for dealing with conflict from the beginning of the development of the G8 Action Plan for Africa.

In the Foreign Minister’s discussion of the G8 Initiative on Conflict and Development, the conflict potential inherent in the extraction of environmental resources was stressed. In accordance with the Miyazaki initiative for conflict prevention, it can be expected that at the Summit, some firm commitments to prevent the growth of war-economies and potential resource shortages (of water, for example), will be made. War-economies, wherein the exploitation of a particular natural resources creates and perpetuates conflict, demand not only conflict prevention measures from the G8, but also commitments regarding other nations’ use of Africa’s natural resources. Multi-national companies that exploit oil, diamonds and other natural resources are primarily western corporations, and their role in the perpetuation of African conflict must be acknowledged at the Summit.

It can be expected that African security and the promotion of peace will be discussed in conjunction with another central issue of the Summit, terrorism, as underlying factors of deprivation and poverty are associated with root-causes theories of terrorism. For America in particular, there will be a merging of their interests in security and anti-terrorism and their approach towards the Action Plan for Africa. As such, significant financial and ODA

commitments towards African peace and security issues can be expected, accelerated by America's desire to ensure that strife-torn African nations do not engender new terrorist threats. The idea of preventative measures to alleviate conflict is also addressed by the G8 Miyazaki Initiative, and discussion of this initiative, and the role of root causes in creating conflict can be expected. For the G8 to react in a meaningful way to NEPAD and the commitments that they have thus far outlined, they must adhere to the principles articulated in this initiative.

Discussion of the conflict in the Great Lakes Region and in Sudan can be expected, and will almost certainly be strongly pushed by PM Blair, who has vocally committed himself to ensuring that some steps are taken towards the resolution of these two conflicts in particular. Blair will emphasize the importance of creating African peacekeeping forces, and will advocate assistance from the G8 nations that will allow this to happen. Italy, which is particularly concerned with conflict prevention as well as actively engaged in the creation of the Action Plan, can be expected to support resolutions related to mediation and peacekeeping. Some humanitarian assistance related to these conflicts in particular can also be expected. NEPAD, in its formulation of a potential new relationship with industrialized countries, specifically emphasizes the importance of material support for conflict prevention and the management of conflict through peacekeeping, and stresses the importance of strengthening African institutions so that they can better prevent and manage African conflicts, both of which require assistance from the G8.

The reduction in arms, particularly in small arms, is an issue that is also tied to the Action Plan for Africa, and that promises to be a contentious one. Though conflict resolution and peace and security have been touted as the overarching priority of the Action Plan for Africa, the G8 nations themselves are responsible for much of the arms supplied to those nations. Britain in particular, despite championing African peace and security initiatives, remains the supplier of 20-25% of the world's arms. However, for the Action Plan to be effective some commitments on the reduction of arms, such as an agreement limiting the sale of small arms to African nations vulnerable to conflict, must be made. In its documents, NEPAD has underscored that combating illegal small arms and weapons is a priority. The G8 must consider something like the European Union ethical arms-export policy, so that common standards on arms sales can be met and adhered to.

5. Agriculture and Water

The significance of water and agriculture for the prosperity and health of the African continent and its people is multi-faceted, and demands a thorough and wide-ranging response in the G8 Action Plan for Africa. A plentiful supply of clean water and fruitful agricultural practices are not only necessary for basic survival, but are also inextricably linked to Africa's relative economic position as well as to the peace and security of a continent that faces the ever-increasing possibility of water wars. For the G8 to act effectively on these interrelated issues, the Action Plan for Africa must acknowledge and support the goals and aims set out by NEPAD.

During the Maputo meeting, a detailed agricultural plan for the continent was discussed, and the joint NEPAD/G8 meeting was in agreement that agriculture and agricultural productivity needed to be given greater priority. The G8 leaders must address the FAO/NEPAD joint Comprehensive

Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), which calls for US \$240 billion between now and 2015. An investment that would stabilize the fragile agricultural infrastructure that exists presently would allow the African nations to domestically increase their agricultural investments 35-55%, as they have pledged to do.

NEPAD prioritizes an increase in the capacity for agricultural research, and particularly emphasizes the impact that technology and technological innovation could have on Africa's agricultural infrastructure. The G8 leaders must make concrete commitments to help African nations develop increased research capacity on the continent. Italy, which has highlighted the agricultural sector as a priority and has emphasized the importance of food security, can be expected to urge the other G8 nations to invest in African agriculture in a way that supports innovation and expansion.

As a means of reducing poverty in Africa, Canada has stated that one of its aims for the summit is a reduction in the subsidies given to agricultural products in the US and Europe. Britain too has recognized that while trade liberalization is often touted as a way towards prosperity, Africa has been given little chance for market access in the agricultural sector. In response, Blair has stated that he supports the phasing out of agricultural subsidies. Some action and commitments on the reduction in agricultural subsidies can be expected, though the US does not favour this course of action.

Significant initiatives in relation to water must also be taken if the G8 Action Plan for Africa is to be considered successful. Due to the number of shared rivers and water sources on the continent, the potential for conflict caused by competing water-related interests is enormous, and is exacerbated by the growing 'water-stress' being placed on many African nations. At the G8 Foreign Minister's Meeting, under the rubric of the G8 Initiative on Conflict and Development, it was noted that the G8 recognizes the importance of cooperative water sharing and institutional structures as a means of preventing conflict. If it is to remain in accordance with its Miyazaki initiative for conflict prevention, as well as to adequately support NEPAD, the G8 must strongly commit itself to investing in sustainable and strengthened water infrastructure in Africa. Again according to the G8 Initiative on Conflict and Development, the G8 intends to "use development assistance to promote integrated water resources management and good governance in the field of shared water resources development, management, protection and use within states and between states."

The UK has already established the US \$350 million Emerging Africa Infrastructure Fund, which has earmarked funds for water supply, distribution and treatment/purification among other infrastructure projects. The fund is expected to create further investment and Blair has stated that he wants the G8 to further support the Emerging Africa Fund. Whether he is able to convince the other leaders to commit funds to this project will be one way of measuring the success of water-related commitments at the Summit.

Assistance towards multipurpose water resource projects like the SADC Water Secretariat's investigation of the utilization of the Congo River, and the Nile Basin Initiative are also crucial components of NEPAD's vision of necessary initiatives regarding water, and discussion about these initiatives can also be expected at the Summit.

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