



Our Common Strategic Interests

Africa's Role in the Post-G8 World

A Chatham House Report

Tom Cargill



CHATHAM HOUSE

www.chathamhouse.org.uk

Our Common Strategic Interests

Africa's Role in the Post-G8 World

A Chatham House Report

Tom Cargill

June 2010



CHATHAM HOUSE

www.chathamhouse.org.uk

Chatham House has been the home of the Royal Institute of International Affairs for ninety years. Our mission is to be a world-leading source of independent analysis, informed debate and influential ideas on how to build a prosperous and secure world for all.

© Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2010

Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London promotes the rigorous study of international questions and is independent of government and other vested interests. It is precluded by its Charter from having an institutional view. The opinions expressed in this publication are the responsibility of the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or any information storage or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the copyright holder. Please direct all enquiries to the publishers.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House
10 St James's Square
London SW1Y 4LE
T: +44 (0) 20 7957 5700
F: + 44 (0) 20 7957 5710
www.chathamhouse.org.uk

Charity Registration No. 208223

ISBN 978 1 86203 224 8

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Designed and typeset by Soapbox Communications Limited
www.soapboxcommunications.co.uk

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Latimer Trend and Co Ltd

The material selected for the printing of this report is Elemental Chlorine Free and has been sourced from sustainable forests. It has been manufactured by an ISO 14001 certified mill under EMAS.



Contents

	Preface and Acknowledgments	v
	About the Author	vi
	Executive Summary	vii
1	The Past Effectiveness of the G8 on African Development	1
	Introduction	1
	The emergence of the G7, G8 and G20	1
	<i>Recent history of the G8 on Africa</i>	2
	<i>Why Africa?</i>	2
	<i>The Millennium Development Goals</i>	4
	<i>NEPAD</i>	4
	<i>The Africa Partnership Forum</i>	5
	<i>The strengths and weaknesses of the MDGs, NEPAD and the APF</i>	8
	<i>The decline of NEPAD and the G8 Africa agenda</i>	10
	<i>The Outreach 5</i>	10
	<i>The G8 as an effective forum</i>	11
	<i>The issue of monitoring and data quality</i>	11
	<i>What does the G8-G20 transition mean for Africa?</i>	12
	The legacy of the G8	14
	A 'spaghetti bowl' of initiatives and targets	16
	The G8 as an anchor for consensus	17
2	The Importance of Africa to the G8 and Others	19
	Introduction	19
	Access to resources and energy security	19
	Recent changes across Africa	22
	G8 responses	24
	Diplomacy-led vs development-led engagement	24
	<i>The dangers of a purely diplomacy- and business-led engagement</i>	25
	The benefits of a more strategic engagement between G8 and African states	26
	<i>Economic benefits</i>	26
	<i>Political benefits</i>	26
	<i>Social benefits</i>	26
	<i>Environmental benefits</i>	27

G8 country-specific interests in Africa	27
<i>Canadian interests</i>	27
<i>US interests</i>	28
<i>Japanese interests</i>	29
<i>British, French, German, Italian and EU interests</i>	29
The United Kingdom	31
France	31
Germany	32
Italy	33
Russia	34
BRIC and G20 interests in Africa	35
<i>Brazil</i>	35
<i>India</i>	35
<i>China</i>	36
<i>Argentina</i>	38
<i>Australia</i>	38
<i>Indonesia</i>	38
<i>Mexico</i>	39
<i>South Korea</i>	39
<i>Saudi Arabia</i>	40
<i>South Africa</i>	40
<i>Turkey</i>	42
Conclusion	42
Annex: Tracking G8 Delivery Against Promises	45

Preface and Acknowledgments

This report had its genesis in 2005, during the United Kingdom's G8 presidency when it became clear that an independent reappraisal of the whole scope of international engagements with Africa was needed. On the back of a number of other smaller projects, Africa Programme staff at Chatham House began interviewing officials from African and G8 countries, NGOs and private-sector sources.

The project took concrete shape from 2007, when a generous grant from the Stavros Niarchos Foundation enabled the team to pursue this as a specific research project for the next two years. The Foundation's support is greatly appreciated, as is that of many other sponsors of the Africa Programme since its inception in 2003.

Other Africa Programme staff made significant contributions to the writing, research and editing of this report, in particular Elizabeth Donnelly and Alex Vines, as well as Markus Weimer, Adjoa Anyimadu and Fiona Bannert.

About the Author

Tom Cargill is Assistant Head of the Africa Programme at Chatham House. He has worked at Chatham House since 2004 and specializes in political foreign policy issues related to Africa, particularly those of the US and EU. He previously spent time in East Africa and worked for a number of public- and private-sector organizations.

Executive Summary

African countries are playing a more strategic role in international affairs. Global players that understand this and develop greater diplomatic and trade relations with African states will be greatly advantaged. For many countries, particularly those that have framed their relations with Africa largely in humanitarian terms, this will require an uncomfortable shift in public and policy perceptions. Without this shift, many of Africa's traditional partners, especially in Europe and North America, will lose global influence and trade advantages to the emerging powers in Asia, Africa and South America.

A strong diplomatic and trade engagement with Africa matters. Africa is the foundation of the global supply chain – a strategic source of almost 40 per cent of the raw materials, agriculture, fresh water and energy essential for global growth. Its rainforests play a central role in the planet's climate. Its population of one billion are increasingly important consumers. Africa is strategically placed between time zones, continents and hemispheres. However, the overwhelmingly humanitarian interest of many Western countries and traditional partners has led to stereotyped perceptions of Africa in terms only of problems. These views are increasingly patronizing, recursive, out of touch, and a deterrent to serious business interest. Meanwhile the emerging economic powers of the G20 see Africa in terms of opportunities – as a place in which to invest, gain market share and win access to resources.

The re-emergence of China as a principal partner of many African states has renewed interest in engagement with Africa among many business people and politicians in the West. Sometimes this interest has been

expressed via a sense of amorphous threat to Western interests. Yet China's re-engagement is for the most part welcome, as is that of the increasing numbers of emerging powers such as Turkey, South Korea and Brazil that have forced Africa's traditional partners to think again about the mutual value of investing in the continent's growing consumer and skills base. Crucially, however, this approach needs to be balanced with respect and support for a regulatory and governance framework that ensures such investments deliver long-term benefits to all. Too often Africa's emerging partners pay lip service to the rhetoric of 'win-win' and 'South-South cooperation' while reproducing the worst excesses of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation.

The G8 has played a valuable role in clarifying and anchoring a more strategic, coordinated and consultative approach to Africa's development needs among most Western countries. This approach grew out of the failures of the 1990s and from the vision and determination of a few African leaders – President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria and President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal. They recognized that African states needed to change both their approach to international engagement and their domestic agendas, and they worked to build an international consensus around this.

The consensus exists around the need to develop a system of mutual obligations and incentives between African governments and their international partners to foster good governance and democratic reform in return for the financial and political support necessary to pull African countries out of poverty. Whatever the controversy around their domestic records, these leaders deserve recognition for having achieved this consensus, which has lasted for almost 10 years and delivered much-needed change to the lives of many people across Africa.

Yet in recent years G8 progress on Africa has slowed, and discussing Africa as a separate stream at G8 summits has increasingly become a substitute for meaningful action. The over-promising of what aid can deliver, and the emphasis placed on aid to the exclusion and deterrence of considerations of business and private-sector links, have diminished the relevance of the G8 for Africa,

mirroring the more general shift in the global balance of power from West to East. Development assistance has played, and will continue to play, an important role for many African countries, but economic fortunes across the continent are now diverging. This makes it less meaningful to treat Africa as a single entity in international economic negotiations.

So on the one hand, the G8 has played a role in supporting engagement with Africa based on enlightened mutual self-interest and agreement on shared rules and principles. On the other hand, the emerging economies of the G20 have brought entrepreneurialism, energy and recognition of mutual benefits that are increasingly attractive. A key task for the G20 will be to fuse the best of the approaches of both the traditional and emerging partners of Africa to the benefit of all.

Those best placed to effect this change are the continent's own leaders. Africa has never been in such a strong bargaining position in international affairs, with increasing numbers of suitors. However, African leadership is at present insufficient and the activism and vision that characterized the first few years of the twenty-first century are less in evidence now. This is dangerous because without strong, effective leadership the competition for Africa's resources may degenerate into the kind of colonial exploitative scramble from which much of the continent has only recently begun to recover. Governance institutions in general – from national governments to regional bodies and the African Union itself – are stronger than they were, but they need to be far stronger still. It is in the interest of all Africa's international partners to support their further consolidation. African states must further merge their economies with those of their neighbours if the advantages of scale are to be sufficient to satisfy the largest investors. All this requires leadership from within Africa, reinforced

by strong diplomatic support from outside. To this end it is in the global interest that the African Union should be granted a permanent place at the G20.

The citizens of Western countries are understandably weary of continued calls for more aid to Africa, particularly in the aftermath of the recent global financial crisis. They must be reassured that aid works and that delivering growth for Africa will deliver real economic benefits to them. Aid is a very necessary safety net, but it is not a springboard. It will ultimately deliver the development Africa needs only if it is used in support of private-sector-led growth and stability. Emerging economies are capitalizing on this. Western countries ought to benefit too; indeed it should be a strategic imperative for them. Yet thus far there is insufficient evidence that they recognize this.

Most Western countries still enjoy a comparative, if diminishing, advantage over emerging powers in policy and academic understanding of Africa. Yet resources and expertise on Africa have been allowed to wither in Western governments, academia and the news media. The advantages many former colonial powers enjoyed in terms of expertise, trade links and cultural affinity are now far fewer than many policy-makers assume. Beneath the rhetoric of the importance of Africa, diplomatic and trade resources devoted to it are still being cut in many Western capitals, leading to a downward spiral of ignorance and thus marginalization in strategic awareness. Reversing this trend will require time and investment, but the rewards should be considerable. The financial crisis challenged Western claims about the superiority of the democratic and free market model. Western countries should welcome the opportunity to demonstrate the advantages, dynamism and resilience of their economies and governance systems, and export them to Africa for common benefit, in an increasingly competitive multipolar world.

1. The Past Effectiveness of the G8 on African Development

Introduction

The global order is currently undergoing dramatic change of a kind not seen since the end of the Cold War. The changing economic balance of power, hastened by the recent global financial crisis, raises questions regarding whether and how the G8 has supported African development objectives, and what impact the emergence of the G20 as the principal forum for global economic governance will have on African development and political objectives.

The recent phenomenon of linking G8 conferences to new high-level commitments on Africa is arguably over; the G20 is less likely to take on such an overt role in this regard. The extent to which commitments made and results delivered by the G8 have been real and commensurate with the resources spent is still a matter of debate.

The G8 would not claim to be the sole, or indeed principal focus for international development efforts with regard to Africa, but it has been the most prominent in the public eye, and its members contribute a large proportion of all aid to Africa. In part this is because campaigners have chosen to focus their Africa advocacy efforts around

G8 summits. They succeeded in having Africa and development-related issues raised at each summit, to the point where most countries hosting the G8 summit in recent years have placed Africa as a distinct issue on the agenda.¹ However, the principal reason for the focus was the activism of several African leaders who set out to secure a new and reciprocal relationship with the major aid donors that make up the G8.

At the same time, however, discussion of Africa was largely uncontentious for G8 members because it was framed in terms of development.² This contrasted with issues they identified as 'high priority', such as nuclear proliferation or the Middle East peace process.

The emergence of the G7, G8 and G20

The success (and limitations) of the G8 lay, right from its origins, in its informality and lack of bureaucracy. The oil shocks and political turmoil of the early 1970s led to a series of meetings from 1973 between the finance ministers of the United States, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and, a little later, Japan. These meetings culminated in a summit in France in 1975, where the leaders of these five countries, along with Italy, met to discuss and seek consensus on economic matters. Against some initial resistance, such summits became regular events. The group expanded to include Canada in 1976 and the then European Community in 1977. The G7 (the EC was not included as a formal member of the grouping) met annually over the next two decades, with members taking turns annually to chair and host the group.³ For most of this period there was little public interest in the group but after the end of the Cold War its summits took on a new resonance, comprising as they did the leaders of those countries considered to have been the leaders of the ascendant capitalist West. Russia participated for the first time as a full partner in 1994, and the G7 formally became the G8 with its inclusion at the Birmingham summit in 1998.⁴

1 The only exception was Russia, in 2006.

2 In this sense, as when Africa-related issues are raised at other international forums such as the UN Security Council, African development-related issues can be discussed without the threat of serious dispute among G8 members marring the summit for the host country, or causing wider diplomatic problems.

3 Peter I. Hajnal, *The G7/G8 System: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

4 The G7 remained as a basis for financial discussions without Russian participation.

Negotiating agendas, discussions and outcomes at G8 summits has become a specialized skill over the years, developing alongside the accretion of mandate and expectations of the process itself. At the same time, the lack of a formal mechanism or secretariat for the G8 process means that the way each host country arrives at and pursues an agenda at the G8 summit is highly idiosyncratic.

The G20 emerged in the aftermath of the 1997 Asian financial crisis as it became clear that consultation and coordination needed to be extended to encompass emerging economic powers.⁵ The G7 finance ministers responded by agreeing the establishment of a new grouping of 'systemically significant' countries. This brought Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, India, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea and Turkey, and a little later Indonesia, into a grouping that also formally included the European Union as its twentieth member.⁶ As with the G8, there was initial reluctance to formalize an annual G20 arrangement, but this was overcome and Canada chaired the new grouping for its first two years when, as with the G7 before, the G20 was manifest in rather low-key annual meetings of finance ministers and officials. There was little anticipation by most participants and analysts that it would challenge, still less supersede, its G8 progenitor.⁷ Yet, like the G8, the G20 has steadily gained mandate and authority and, with the global financial crisis of 2008–09, it became obvious that the old Western economic establishment of the G8 could no longer claim control or ascendancy over the international system and needed to engage more fully with the emerging powers in the G20. This began to be formalized in late 2009 as it was announced that the G20 would take responsibility from the G8 for leading on global economic deliberations,⁸ and

that the first G20 summit in 2010, co-chaired by South Korea, would take place in Toronto, Canada alongside the Canadian-hosted Muskoka G8 summit. The second and main G20 summit is to take place in Seoul in November 2010, and France will host both the G8 and the G20 in 2011.⁹

Despite the positive commitments made at the London summit of April 2009, the G20 is likely to deliver much fewer and often broader economic commitments than the G8, because it has to negotiate consensus among a larger group.¹⁰ This means there are likely to be fewer meaningful commitments related specifically to Africa, given that its economic needs are seen as fairly peripheral to and contingent upon immediate global economic stability. However, the G8 will remain active for the immediate future, and it is likely that Africa will remain on its agenda as a distinct issue, not least because of the continuing lobbying of campaign groups.

Recent history of the G8 on Africa

Why Africa?

Africa is the only continent that has managed to accrue a consistent and distinct strand of discussion within G7/G8 forums. Although the G7 began to expand its mandate throughout the 1980s and 1990s, it was (with the exception of a mention in 1997) only from the Italian Genoa summit in 2001 that Africa started to make a regular appearance on the agenda, eventually becoming almost an expected stream of discussion. The reason was the intersection of several trends. First, there was an ephemeral unipolar moment at the end of the Cold War when the United States and its principal Cold War allies appeared to dominate

5 For more information on the G20 and various documents see the G20 website <http://www.g20.org/index.aspx>. An initial variable grouping of up to 25 countries, known as the Willard Group and established by the United States, addressed the initial crisis before the G20 was formalized. For a perspective from a senior policy-maker who saw the G20 emerge see Trevor Manuel, 'Africa as an Actor in Global Governance Reform for Development', *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (2009), pp. 279–85.

6 There remains some dispute as to whether and how the EU was actually included as the twentieth member. Some commentators have suggested the twentieth place was fudged after disagreements as to which country should fill it, with the EU left to assume the place by default.

7 Anthony Payne, 'The G8 in a Changing Economic Order', *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (2008), pp. 519–33.

8 G7 finance ministers agreed that from 2009 they would only meet informally when issues of mutual interest arise.

9 G20 Leaders statement, Pittsburgh, 25 September 2009. http://www.g20.org/Documents/pittsburgh_summit_leaders_statement_250909.pdf. There would have been a more formal announcement of a handover at Pittsburgh, but Canadian protests meant that it will not happen until 2011. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8274046.stm>.

10 The Global Plan for recovery and reform. Final communiqué of the G20 London summit, para 25, <http://www.g20.org/Documents/final-communique.pdf>.

Box 1: Treating Africa as a cohesive issue – highlighting or ghettoizing?

While it has become routine to discuss Africa as a separate issue in recent years, there is no requirement that this should be the case; for instance the United States largely mainstreamed Africa discussions in 2004, and Russia addressed Africa issues as part of other discussions during its presidency in 2006.^a Indeed there has been some criticism that treating Africa as a distinct issue stigmatizes a diverse continent with a single set of assumptions and imposes an overly reductionist set of policies. Clearly, South Africa has little in common with Somalia. In addition, it is not just African states that need particular attention; there are very poor states facing multiple development challenges around the world. India, for example, has more people living in poverty than the whole of Africa does.

Some observers suggest that it may be more appropriate for the G8 to discuss these problems in terms of 'least developed countries'.^b Others argue that this would be politically difficult to achieve, and would have far less popular resonance.^c Since 2001 the existence of an Africa pillar has helped bring the continent's countries into discussions about bigger issues. From this perspective, not having an Africa pillar would be a disaster as neither the Africa agenda nor the needs of the poor generally would make it into the press or get the political traction needed. In this way Africa represents the needs of poor people everywhere. Yet it is this very connection that critics claim ghettoizes Africa and plays into prejudicial assumptions about Africans, race and poverty.

a On issues in the run-up to the 2004 Sea Island summit in the United States, see N. Princeton Lyman et al., *Freedom, Prosperity, and Security: The G8 Partnership with Africa: Sea Island 2004 and Beyond*, CFR Special Report No. 4 (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2004), <http://www.cfr.org/publication.html?id=7072>.

b The 2000 Okinawa summit and, at least initially, the 2001 Genoa summit were initially 'Development Summits'.

c The 'Make Poverty History' campaign that coalesced around the 2005 UK presidency of the G8 was not purely focused on Africa, though the rhetoric of many of its spokespeople did focus heavily on it as a leitmotif.

the international arena. What can now be seen as a somewhat hubristic approach to globalization among some Western policy-makers provoked an increasingly organized response from civil society movements that mobilized around increasing anger and opposition to what they saw as exploitation of the poor world by the rich, entrenched through globalization. These movements found voice and clarity around the turn of the millennium. Politicians from G8 countries¹¹ realized that they needed to show they took the global development agenda seriously, and the G8 was a useful vehicle for this, having become a focus for violent and non-violent protest.¹² Despite the obvious fact that millions of people live in poverty outside the continent, Africa had already assumed an iconic status, symbolizing one side of a world divided between rich and poor. When a group of African leaders emerged who sought to engage the West in a new develop-

mental relationship predicated upon good governance and mutual accountability, G8 leaders were primed to respond positively. After a decade when numerous economic and political initiatives within the UN had failed to reverse the negative trends across much of Africa, a new approach was attractive to all sides.

The catalyst for Africa to enter G8 discussions in a structured way came when this group of internationally activist African presidents set out to get a fairer deal for the continent, tied to greater commitments to reform. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was the result (see below). Presidents Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria and a little later Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal skilfully lobbied G8 leaders over the course of the 2000 Japanese presidency and 2001 Italian presidency. They secured a commitment among G8 leaders that each

11 Many of whom happened to come from centre or centre-left parties at the time.

12 It is no coincidence that plans were laid at this time, in the late 1990s, for the extension of global discussions beyond the G7/8, to encompass pre-approved countries in the G20 – recognition that global power (and therefore responsibility) could not be seen to be concentrated solely in the West. The 'long decade' of growth among most G8 countries from the late 1990s also enabled policy-makers to expand the mandate of the G8 beyond immediate financial concerns.

would appoint an African Personal Representative (APR) to work out an Africa Action Plan, which was then launched during the Canadian presidency in 2002. The energy and sense of common purpose brought further gains for Africa at a subsequent summit in France as the Africa Partnership Forum (APF) was launched. This formalized the high-level dialogue between G8 and NEPAD leaders and brought in other key multilateral actors.¹³

The Millennium Development Goals

NEPAD emerged in the late 1990s as the idea of an 'African Renaissance' was being popularized, with South African President Thabo Mbeki a leading proponent.¹⁴ This occurred at a time when the idea of 'new African leaders' was still current, as promoted by Western figures such as Susan Rice, then Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in the Clinton administration,¹⁵ and a few years later by members of the United Kingdom's Labour government including Prime Minister Tony Blair and International Development Secretary Clare Short. At the same time, growing civil society protests at the uneven benefits resulting from globalization broke into violence around several G8 summits, and campaign groups pushed for more concrete action to demonstrate high-level commitment to the needs of citizens in less developed countries.

A central advocacy strategy among these groups was to focus on the turn of the millennium. The Jubilee 2000 campaign and other groups used this to increase

the pressure on Western governments and G8 summits to support development in poorer countries, including through debt forgiveness,¹⁶ as well as a renewed commitment to increase aid.¹⁷ This resulted in the largest ever meeting of world leaders at the UN Assembly in New York in September 2000, and the adoption of the Millennium Declaration.¹⁸ This contained ambitious targets – the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – to improve the wellbeing of the world's poorest, not just those in Africa, by 2015.¹⁹ The MDGs themselves grew out of the work of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD-DAC).²⁰ The associated aspiration to encourage industrialized countries to commit 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to development aid has a longer history, but became prominent alongside the MDGs. In 2005 the European members of the OECD agreed to achieve the 0.7 per cent target by 2015, aiming to reach 0.51 per cent by 2010.²¹

NEPAD

Initially called the 'New African Initiative',²² what became NEPAD was established by the presidents of Algeria, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa, and adopted by the Organization of African Unity in July 2001. It held its inaugural meeting in October of that year and adopted the revised name.²³ At this point all other OAU members joined. The objectives of NEPAD are:

13 This energy and sense of purpose on Africa were not restricted to G8 forums, but were further energized by them and in turn fed back into them and other initiatives. The Monterrey Consensus, which emerged from the United Nations International Conference on Financing for Development in 2002, was a good example of this.

14 Often the ideas behind the African Renaissance are linked to a speech Mbeki made upon the adoption of the new South African constitution in 1996, though he did not use the phrase itself. See, for instance, Elias K. Bongmba, 'Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2004).

15 Now US Ambassador to the UN under President Obama.

16 See, for instance, <http://www.fpiif.org/fpiifxt/1185>.

17 For a good description of how successful and innovative Jubilee 2000 was, see Peter I. Hajnal, 'Partners or Adversaries? The G7/8 Encounters Civil Society', in John J. Kirton and Junichi Takese (eds), *New Directions in Global Political Governance: The G8 and International Order in the Twenty-first Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 209–22.

18 <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>.

19 <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/pdf/mdglist.pdf>.

20 As articulated in the 1996 DAC report 'Shaping the 21st Century', <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/35/2508761.pdf>.

21 France and Italy subsequently reneged on this.

22 The roots of NEPAD can be traced back further to a 1999 OAU summit mandating Presidents Mbeki and Bouteflika to engage Africa's creditors to negotiate debt cancellation. Their initiative subsequently merged with (or rather sublimated) an initiative by President Wade known as the Omega Plan. For a detailed, if very South African-oriented, narrative of the genesis of NEPAD see http://www.dfa.gov.za/au.nepad/historical_overview.htm. NEPAD was the result of a fusion between Wade's OMEGA plan and Mbeki's MAP (Millennium Partnership for Africa's Recovery Programme).

23 'Communiqué Issued at the End of the Meeting of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State and Government on the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Abuja, Nigeria, 23 October 2001', <http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/documents/38.pdf>.

- To eradicate poverty;
- To place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development;
- To halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy; and
- To accelerate the empowerment of women.²⁴

NEPAD established a secretariat in Midrand, South Africa, reinforcing the leading role President Mbeki had played in setting up the institution.²⁵ Indeed NEPAD's strong identification with President Mbeki soon caused problems for the project as his relationship with other key actors both within and outside Africa became strained over various diplomatic and personal issues. Another source of continuing tension was in the relationship between NEPAD and the successor organization to the OAU, the African Union (AU), established just a year after NEPAD in 2002. In a sense NEPAD had been established in response to the lack of dynamism and effectiveness of the old OAU, but from the start the AU was far more interventionist and active than its predecessor (partly a result of the same political dynamism from which NEPAD emerged), and institutional rivalries quickly emerged. In recent years, NEPAD has been less active, as the driving personalities behind it such as President Mbeki and President Obasanjo have left office, and as the African Union has sought to fill the vacuum. The AU ultimately incorporated NEPAD as one of its organs on 1 February 2010.

The Africa Partnership Forum

There has been a fairly long history of inquiries, commissions and initiatives undertaken to try to understand and correct the causes of poverty and underdevelopment. From the late 1970s there was growing alarm over

reversing economic, governance and security indicators, even as the number of these initiatives, if not their effectiveness, increased. They ranged from external attempts, such as the Berg and Brandt reports, to more internally derived African attempts to respond. The latter included the Monrovia Strategy and subsequent Lagos Plan of Action, the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, and the Harare Declaration on the food crisis in Africa. There were also more institutional UN attempts with a greater or lesser degree of African and non-African participation, such as the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UN-PAAERD), followed by the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s (UN-NADAF).

“From the late 1970s there was growing alarm over reversing economic, governance and security indicators, even as the number of these initiatives, if not their effectiveness, increased”

This last initiative did prove something of a watershed. While UN-NADAF failed utterly to make an impact on the sharp decline in much of Africa's economic fortunes, its deliberations and engagements with civil society did in some senses pave the way for the Millennium Declaration. Its final independent evaluation review, published in June 2002, offered valuable lessons as to why UN-NADAF had failed, and made several important suggestions as to how NEPAD might avoid these failures.²⁶ Chief among these

24 <http://www.nepad.org/2005/files/inbrief.php>.

25 The strength of NEPAD lay partly in the fact that it spoke to an economic agenda already in vogue among Africa's principal developmental partners, and set out a series of mutual obligations and commitments between African states and donors that found favour in Western capitals. This inevitably came in for criticism among those observers who claimed that it was the prevailing international consensus itself that was responsible for Africa's poverty and underdevelopment. See Giovanni Arrighi, 'The African Crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects', *New Left Review* 15, May–June 2002, <http://newleftreview.org/A2387>; and also Ian Taylor, 'The New Partnership for Africa's Development and the Global Political Economy: Towards the African Century or Another False Start?', paper presented at conference on 'Africa and the Development Challenges of the New Millennium', Accra, Ghana, 23–26 April 2002, <http://www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/Nepad/taylor.pdf>.

26 <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/425/70/PDF/N0242570.pdf?OpenElement>.

Box 2: The G8 Africa Action Plan

Agreed at the 2002 Canadian G8 summit in Kananaskis, the G8 Africa Action Plan was a boldly worded – if broadly defined – set of commitments by G8 countries in response to equally bold and broad commitments set out in NEPAD. African Personal Representatives (APRs) appointed by each of the G8 members defined eight key commitments:^a

- promoting peace and security;
- strengthening institutions and governance;
- fostering trade, investment, economic growth and sustainable development;
- implementing debt relief;
- expanding knowledge, improving and promoting education and expanding digital opportunities;
- improving health and confronting HIV/AIDS;
- increasing agricultural productivity; and
- improving water resource management.

Significantly, new development assistance was not mentioned as a commitment in the plan – underscoring the desire on the part of the framers to move away from an emphasis on more aid as a principal goal in itself.^b Each G8 country tasked its APR to report back at subsequent G8 summits. At the 2003 G8 Evian summit in France these representatives reported patchy progress, but a particularly strong focus on peace and security (see Box 4). Debt relief and health also saw some solid progress, with smaller advances in water resource management and agricultural productivity, and even less progress (behind the rhetoric) on trade.^c

The Personal Representatives' mandate was extended and they jointly reported back in 2005 at the Gleneagles summit in the United Kingdom.^d Their report was much overshadowed by the host's own Commission for Africa report (and written with reference to it), but Personal Representatives claimed solid progress by African states in improving governance and strengthening institutions. Trade and investment progress was again more a list of process than results, but an increasing focus on infrastructure was indicative of the welcome rediscovery of its importance in support of economic growth, as was renewed progress on regional integration. Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and debt relief were less prominent, anticipating the big push they were intended to receive from the Gleneagles summit. Some progress was reported on health and HIV/AIDS, but less in other areas.^e

The next joint report was to the German-hosted Heiligendamm summit in 2007. By now, there was less reliance on the Personal Representatives as the Africa Partnership Forum had begun to take a greater role in coordinating and monitoring action. Indeed, encouraging this was an explicit recommendation in the report. The Personal Representatives had less concrete progress to report, as previous initiatives continued and, in some

a Improved aid was mentioned several times, and an offer (hedged with ambiguity) that up to half (\$6 billion) of ODA pledged at Monterrey could be directed at African countries – Chair's Declaration, 27 June 2002, <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/summary.html>.

b G8 Evian Implementation Report by Africa Personal Representatives to Leaders on the G8 African Action Plan, http://www.g8.fr/evian/english/navigation/2003_g8_summit/summit_documents/implementation_report_by_africa_personal_representatives_to_leaders_on_the_g8_african_action_plan.html.

c Some countries' APRs, including Canada's, produced national reports in addition to the joint reports.

d G8 Gleneagles report by Africa Personal Representatives, <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications/g8-africa-progress-report.pdf>.

e G8 Africa Personal Representatives' Joint Progress Report on the G8-Africa Partnership, http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/g8-africa-personal-report-long.property=publicationFile.pdf.

cases, struggled to make progress.¹ The same was true when the Personal Representatives reported again the next year before the 2008 Hokkaido Toyako summit in Japan.

Overall, the Africa Action Plan served a useful purpose in focusing and driving collective action, but it depended, as so much else, on the leadership and political support of its founders. As initiatives multiplied and events intervened, that initial vision and drive lessened. The accumulation of a familiar 'spaghetti bowl' of interlinking, overlapping and competing follow-up mechanisms and agendas (including two subsequent, but distinct and separate African Action Plans)⁹ led to a steady attrition of measurable progress.

f The AU/NEPAD African Plan of Action of 2006, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/0/18/37702253.pdf>; and the AU/NEPAD African Action Plan of 2008, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/28/10/41084201.pdf>.

g <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/425/70/PDF/N0242570.pdf?OpenElement>.

was the failure to effectively link and coordinate governance reform among African governments, and to firm up new commitments among donors. Not far behind this was the failure to establish sufficient monitoring and implementation mechanisms to ensure delivery and progress. The Africa Partnership Forum is an explicit attempt to respond to these criticisms. To quote its website:

The APF's core task is to monitor how commitments are being taken forward and to establish associated outcomes against which progress can be tracked. In carrying out its assessment work, the APF highlights lessons learned and identifies priorities for action as well as who will be responsible for implementation to facilitate delivery of commitments that have been made.²⁷

The APF was established through a Canadian initiative in the wake of lobbying by prominent members of NEPAD, as it was to become, to establish a formal mechanism whereby G8 members and other large multilateral institutions could coordinate with NEPAD members to improve and speed up development efforts across Africa. At the French G8 summit in 2003, the dialogue between the G8 and NEPAD-initiating countries was extended to encompass all OECD countries that contributed substan-

tially to development assistance in Africa. Participation on the African side was also extended to include all 20 countries serving on the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSIC), the executive secretaries of the Africa's Regional Economic Communities and a representative of the AU Commission. The heads of international multilateral institutions with a significant engagement with African development issues also joined. The first meeting of the Africa Partnership Forum took place in November 2003 in Paris.²⁸

This enlargement has been important as NEPAD has declined in influence and has steadily been integrated into the AU.²⁹ The extent to which NEPAD is still an important or indeed useful contributor to the APF as an independent actor is open to question, and there have been increasing concerns over the quality of African engagement with the APF. On the other side, there is uncertainty as to whether the APF can transform itself from what was essentially a G8-NEPAD creation to one that can fully embrace post-G8, post-NEPAD structures. Yet with a small support unit based at the OECD headquarters in Paris, a staff of nine and a limited budget, the APF is a good example of an initiative with the potential to act as a useful catalyst, clearing house and monitor of action among the swirl of initiatives and reports on Africa.

27 http://www.africapartnershipforum.org/document/20/0,3343,en_37489563_37637469_37646164_1_1_1_1,00.html.

28 http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/elysee/fr/francais_archives/actualites/deplacements_en_france/2003/novembre/forum_pour_le_partenariat_avec_l_afrique.7516.html.

29 It was fully absorbed as an AU structure in January 2010.

See <http://www.appablog.wordpress.com/2010/02/09/decisions-of-the-14th-african-union-summit/>.

Strengths and weaknesses of the MDGs, NEPAD and the APF

The MDGs, NEPAD and the APF all suffer from the same challenge of being ambitious (perhaps overly so) and utilizing novel and limited mechanisms. They have all struggled to convert process into impact. Yet the way in which they have approached the desire to kick-start different aspects of development and good governance across Africa offers some instructive insights into the importance of leadership, goal-setting and strong governance arrangements.

‘There has been a lack of coherently expressed incentives for Western countries to engage sufficiently, or oversight of pledges to do so’

The MDGs are the most broadly based and high-level of the initiatives related to Africa that accompanied the G8 push for development.³⁰ Yet Africa is unlikely to meet any of the MDGs.³¹ Critics argue that they were always far too ambitious to be achieved in such a short timespan and that they were chosen with little reference to or engagement with the realities of African states' situations.³² Indeed, some commentators claim that using the MDGs has made the situation in many African countries appear worse than it actually is.³³ Against this, defenders argue that such ambitious targets were necessary to instil a sense of urgency among policy-makers, and that they provided the energy behind such important commitments as the Monterrey Consensus and Doha Declaration.³⁴

Nevertheless, as 2015 approaches more thought needs to be given as to what, if anything, is to replace the MDG targets. Missing elements of the MDGs included a system of incentives and disincentives to success, and an articulation of the returns that would flow from having one; the diffusion of responsibility for implementation; and sufficient political will to ensure implementation. The coordinating central agency of the MDGs, the Millennium Project, hosted by the UNDP since 2007, has lacked the institutional political power to push through implementation.³⁵ High-profile advocacy efforts have been aimed primarily at pushing donors to increase funding with a view to getting as close as possible to achieving the MDGs, while privately acknowledging that targets will not be reached. There has been a lack of coherently expressed incentives for Western countries to engage sufficiently, or oversight of pledges to do so.

The core strength of NEPAD has been that it symbolized strong African leadership dedicated to delivering fundamental improvements. Ideally, along with the APF, it measures progress and impact in achieving these goals. As with the G8, the task of assessing the impact of such a forum in the context of such a vast field of fast-changing and uncertain data is difficult and allows much interpretation based on conjecture. Many initiatives have been promoted or supported by NEPAD, across a broad front of issues including agriculture, fisheries, infrastructure, gender equality, science and technology. Some of these appear to have led to useful projects, but others appear to be little more than talking shops. However, the most concrete expression of African willingness to improve those governance challenges identified within NEPAD has been the implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM),³⁶ a voluntary process to assess and evaluate the governance mechanisms of participating African states and work to improve them.

30 While their focus is not just on Africa, it is the continent that poses the greatest challenge to their implementation.

31 UNCTAD Trade and Development Report 2009.

32 http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2009/MDG_Report_2009_Progress_Chart_En.pdf.

33 William Easterly, 'How the Millennium Development Goals are Unfair to Africa', *World Development*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2009), January 2009.

34 See footnote 13. The Doha Declaration was an update and re-statement of the importance of the Monterrey Consensus in the face of the 2008 financial crisis – http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/doha/documents/Doha_Declaration_FFD.pdf.

35 This is no discredit to the Millennium Project, as it is difficult to imagine to what body such power could legally accrue.

36 The South African Institute of International Affairs has a strong body of work dedicated to understanding and improving the APRM. <http://saiia.org.za/aprmtoolkit/>.

Box 3: Business and Africa: private-sector initiatives

There have been attempts to develop private-sector partnerships to support a growth agenda across Africa. The United Kingdom's G8 Presidency of 2005 saw a number, including Business Action for Africa and Business Action Against Corruption. There are numerous country-focused business groups in G8 and other countries. Some initiatives, such as the UN Global Compact, seek to cement ethical practices in the private sector. The Africa Commission initiated in 2009 by the Danish government seeks to boost development outcomes through private-sector growth.^a There is the OECD-NEPAD Africa Investment Initiative.^b The British-funded International Growth Centre seeks to fund advice to developing countries in improving their business climates.^c Yet so far there have been no effective, genuinely international partnerships between businesses inside and outside Africa to engage on building private-sector capacity in African states. Were such an alliance achievable, it would serve as a powerful self-interested catalyst for growth while providing the reputational protection in numbers and shared experience that many Western businesses would like before contemplating risky but potentially rewarding investments in Africa.

a <http://www.africacommission.um.dk/en>.

b http://www.oecd.org/document/51/0,3343,en_2649_34893_36167091_1_1_1_1,00.html.

c <http://www.internationalgrowthcentre.org/index.php?q=node/96>.

Progress has not been as fast as many hoped, as 30 countries³⁷ have so far signed up for APRM but only ten³⁸ have been evaluated, with varying results. (Three more are currently undergoing the process.) As an expression of political commitment to good governance and openness to criticism, the APRM has been a positive sign for those countries that have submitted themselves to assessment. Yet it is a complex and time-intensive process. Perhaps inevitably the going has been harder than expected as novelty and initial goodwill have dissipated. There is growing criticism of the APRM's administrative arrangements and follow-up mechanisms.³⁹ As it is the flagship programme of the NEPAD project, this raises questions at the very least regarding NEPAD's political effectiveness. NEPAD's formal absorption into AU structures in January 2010 marks the end of an era, but the intention that NEPAD should continue as a source of ideas and leadership within Africa underscores once again the strong political leadership upon which this and other similar initiatives rely.

The APF has come in for criticism, not least because in the view of some senior policy-makers including Thabo Mbeki, it blunted the energy of the Africa Personal

Representatives, and misdirected the momentum that had been built up by NEPAD leaders and their G8 counterparts, thereby weakening the reform process. Yet while sometimes appearing immersed in donor institutional bureaucracy, the APF development partners support unit at the OECD secretariat in Paris has played an important role in linking African governments and multilateral institutions, including NEPAD and the AU, with donors, international financial institutions and particularly G8 members. Its resources have allowed it to help coordinate and monitor the myriad development-related initiatives in and towards Africa. Its annual Mutual Reviews of Development Effectiveness have been comprehensive and relevant, even if the linking of initiatives to impacts has not always been clear. However, while it is better resourced administratively than NEPAD, and has a clearer and more manageable mandate than either NEPAD or the Millennium Project, it is still dependent, as are the others, on strong and effective political leadership from within Africa. That has at times appeared to be lacking in recent years. This will become even more important if, as seems likely, the APF must take a greater burden for driving forward

37 Algeria, Burkina Faso, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Cameroon, Gabon, Mali, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Egypt, Benin, Malawi, Lesotho, Tanzania, Angola, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Zambia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Djibouti, Mauritania, Togo and Cape Verde. Mauritania was suspended following a coup in August 2008.

38 Ghana, Rwanda, Kenya, Mauritius, South Africa, Algeria, Benin, Uganda, Nigeria and Burkina Faso. Mali, Mozambique and Lesotho are currently being reviewed.

39 See, for instance, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200906291358.html>.

the African growth agenda, as high-level G8 interest is dissipated within the G20. All of these initiatives also lack sufficient engagement with the private sector. Improving these attributes will be key if growth is to be permanently entrenched across Africa in a way which supports sustainable development, stability and poverty reduction.

The decline of NEPAD and the G8 Africa agenda

Among the leaders most successfully lobbied by the NEPAD leaders was then British Prime Minister Tony Blair. So impressed was he that he decided to partly build the UK G8 presidency around a further big push for African growth in 2005, but the UK presidency marked the high-water mark for an action-oriented consensus on Africa within the G8.

By 2005 NEPAD itself had begun to unravel. The activist presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo had become less close to each other, and Mbeki had disagreed with Blair.⁴⁰ The African side of the push for international reform had run its course, and the largely UK-based campaigning NGOs, along with the British government, had picked up the baton. This changed the dynamics. Where NEPAD had been in some ways an attempt to negotiate with Western countries on the basis of *quid pro quo*s on the part of African states, the Commission for Africa and the campaign that accompanied it was far more humanitarian in approach. Although the report was entitled *Our Common Interest*, it lacked an effective, hard-headed articulation of why it was in the interest of G8 member states other than the UK to increase efforts to support the development of African countries. For the UK itself, 2005 and the campaigning around Africa saw the Labour government in an election year effectively position itself as a campaigning group in alliance with the campaigning NGOs. Senior Labour figures spoke at rallies and led marches with the effective help of a number of such groups in the year ahead of

the general election. Whether some of these NGOs were deliberately co-opted by Labour for electoral purposes or not is beyond the scope of this report,⁴¹ but the experience of 2005 arguably established a kind of consensus between these groups and the Labour government over the general thrust of the G8 Africa agenda and how they should be articulated at G8 summits, as outlined in the next section.⁴²

Many positive initiatives emerged from this process, but the campaigning style and claim to moral authority apparent in the British approach irritated officials at many levels in other G8 countries, causing some to feel bullied into the undertakings made at Gleneagles in 2005, and arguably undermining those countries' genuine commitment, as well as the 'whole G8' approach that had been taken by Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo, Bouteflika and Wade. Officials within the AU and in G8 capitals expressed concerns that Blair had become disenchanted with NEPAD and was seeking to supersede it via the commission.⁴³

Since 2005, Africa has remained on the G8 agenda, but there has been growing tension as G8 commitments made in 2005 and before on increased aid levels and other issues have slipped further. The agenda has lacked strong, consistently focused political leadership, either in the G8 or in Africa. Countries holding the G8 presidency have felt under pressure to come up with new initiatives on Africa each year, and – inadvertently or not – insufficient attention has been paid to following up commitments already made.⁴⁴ One of the key responses has been to seek to widen the international debate on Africa (as on other issues) and draw in emerging and fast-growing economies.

The Outreach 5

The G8 and its antecedents have a history of inviting and co-opting various other countries as circumstances dictate (an approach sometimes described as 'flexible geometry').⁴⁵

40 In particular over policy on Zimbabwe and the war in Iraq.

41 For a fuller description of both Labour's record on Africa during this period and the politics that surrounded the Commission for Africa, see Alex Vines and Tom Cargill, 'Le monde doit nous juger sur l'Afrique: l'héritage africain de Tony Blair', *Politique Africaine*, No. 101 (2006), pp. 132–48.

42 This consensus became weaker as one moved away from the aid agenda towards other aspects such as trade, for example, where there was hardly any consensus at all.

43 Vines & Cargill, 'Le monde doit nous juger'. The British government failed to convince others that the Commission for Africa, or its successor the Africa Progress Panel, should follow up on commitments. The APF Support Unit emerged as a compromise.

44 The Canadian government's Accountability Working Group in 2010 is one attempt to correct this lack of follow-up. In 2008 the G8's Japanese Chair's summary announced the setting up of a 'G8 Experts Group' to monitor implementation, though nothing came of this.

45 African countries were among the first group co-opted. For an overview of these antecedents see Payne, 'The G8 in a Changing Global Economic Order' (note 7 above).

The choice of the Outreach 5 (O5) was made during the UK's presidency of the G8 in 2005, and was formalized in 2007 within the Heiligendamm Process under the German presidency.⁴⁶ The O5, comprising Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa, was initially convened around climate change. But the trends relating partly to African advocacy, as outlined above, converged with a more fundamental acknowledgment that the emerging economic power of many non-G8 countries needed to be addressed in global governance discussions.⁴⁷ Yet the O5 arrangement was never very satisfactory, as it could not escape the impression (encouraged by some G8 members) that O5 members were second-tier players at the G8 table.⁴⁸ The dismantling of such structures at the international level is rare; they are normally simply sidelined and allowed to wither, so the conscious dissolution of the O5 in early 2010 in the face of initial resistance by Mexico and South Africa reflected the fact that Brazil, China and India are committed (at least for now) to the G20 model.

The O5 produced limited results in terms of concrete actions, but in retrospect it provided a useful bridging institution in the transition from the G8 to the G20. The regular meetings and circulation of non-papers that took place between G8 and O5 members was useful in preparing for the more integrated engagements required of the G20, and the fact that development and political discussions took place involving foreign and development ministries helped ensure that the G20 is not dominated solely by the concerns of finance ministries, as had once appeared to be the case. This may be to the benefit of African countries, whose needs might otherwise be largely overlooked by economists and related officials focused principally on an international financial architecture dominated by the concerns of the rich world.

The G8 as an effective forum

The role that the G8 has played in African development in recent years has been important but limited compared with

the role of other factors, such as internal reforms across Africa, the rise of a politically assertive middle class in many African countries and increases in commodity prices. While the G20 appears to have quickly eclipsed many aspects of the role of the G8, it is likely that the latter will remain a significant, though diminishing, focus for Africa-related developmental efforts for some years while alternative international groupings such as the G20 are tested. There is no certainty that the G20 will remain the principal focus for economic governance questions – let alone other issues. The concentration of global wealth combined with the relatively small and manageable group represented by the G8 is unlikely to be improved upon as an effective focus for campaign groups, whatever its obvious flaws.

The issue of monitoring and data quality

Measuring the impact and effectiveness of such a high-level body as the G8 with regard to Africa is by definition difficult. Yet there is now a growing body of data available to track both development across the continent and different aspects of donor behaviour, in particular following G8 commitments. Equally important has been the rise of reporting that attempts to make sense of these data to draw larger conclusions about progress being made. Reports that reference G8 commitments include the University of Toronto's G8 Information Centre and Research Group, the OECD's work around the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action, and more advocacy-focused reports such as the annual reports from the Africa Progress Panel, The African Monitor, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation and One.

All of these reports suffer from similar challenges. The most far-reaching is that of consistency and accuracy of data. This is of particular significance in relation to Africa because of the especially poor quality of data, data inconsistency and lack of data on many aspects of African states. More analysis of the potential impact on policy, including an audit of the quality of data sources generally used in reports, would be a positive step

46 http://www.oecd.org/site/0,3407,en_21571361_40549151_1_1_1_1_1,00.html.

47 Though Africa was not named specifically in the first O5 communiqué, development was highlighted, and in the context of the Gleneagles agenda, Africa was implicitly the focus.

48 Lesley Masters, 'The G8 and the Heiligendamm Dialogue Process: Institutionalising the "Outreach 5"', Institute for Global Dialogue, *Global Insight*, Issue 85, November 2005, http://www.igd.org.za/index.php?option=com_remository&Itemid=69&func=selectcat&cat=3.

Box 4: The G8 and security

One area where the legacy of the G8 may endure is that of peace and security.^a The idea of Africa as a region where external security interventions may be required is not new, but from the 1990s a new set of concepts emerged around the need to develop rules-based and consensual principles. Within Africa, this approach was led by the NEPAD pioneers as they approached G8 members from 2000. Externally, Canada led a campaign within the UN to develop the concept of the 'Responsibility to Protect' as defined in an influential report of that name in 2001.^b

Both of these initiatives bore fruit in the 2002 Africa Action Plan in which G8 members pledged that, in partnership with African states, they were 'determined to make conflict prevention and resolution a top priority'.^c A number of pledges and targets articulated in the plan have been built on in subsequent G8 summits, as well as in a number of high-level UN reports. Among the most significant has been the commitment to train and equip 75,000 troops for peacekeeping duties, and to support the development of the African Peace and Security Architecture. The EU has played a particularly prominent role in this as part of its Africa-EU Strategy. More effective coordination has also come from the emergence of the G8++ Africa Clearinghouse, which seeks to bring major donors, contributors, and international and regional organizations together to improve peace-support operations.^d

- a For a more complete assessment of the strengths and weakness, see Alex Vines, 'G8 and EU support to African Efforts in Peace and Security: A European Perspective', in Nicoletta Pirozzi (ed.), *Ensuring Peace and Security in Africa: Implementing the New Africa-EU Partnership*, IAI Quaderni, English series 17 (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, May 2010).
- b <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/publications/core-rtop-documents>.
- c http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/summit-sommet/2002/action_plan_africa-plan_action_afrique.aspx?lang=eng.
- d <http://www.g8africaclearinghouse.org>.

forward. There seems to be little discussion of this issue, even though there is widespread acknowledgment of the problem among experts. High-profile experts who make dramatic policy recommendations that are likely to have far-reaching consequences certainly do not sufficiently highlight this data uncertainty.⁴⁹

The second principal challenge, linked to the first, involves the impartiality of reporting. The desire to 'talk up' or 'talk down' data and progress is understandable. The challenge becomes more acute for campaigning groups, particularly around summits, since there is a strong temptation to talk up the impact of campaigning. A good example of this was the contemporary debate over the success or otherwise of the 2005 Gleneagles summit.⁵⁰ In addition, many of the most active campaign groups and

the international media that cover Africa are based in the United Kingdom and especially in London, and there is little balanced consideration of the impact this cultural and geographical clustering may have on the framing and nature of reporting.⁵¹

What does the G8–G20 transition mean for Africa?

In September 2009, leaders of the G20 met in Pittsburgh and, with US support, agreed to frame future economic cooperation discussions primarily through the G20 rather than through the G8. As the G20 takes on a more prominent role with regard to global governance, the G8 is likely

49 See, for instance, serious criticisms of Paul Collier's methodology in his works, which advocate coups and military interventions to advance development. William Easterly, 'Foreign Aid goes Military!', *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 55, No. 9, 4 December 2008, http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/nyrb_foreign08.pdf.

50 Matthew Tempest, 'G8 leaders agree \$50 billion package' *The Guardian*, 10 August 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/jul/08/g8.development1>.

51 The African Monitor, established by Archbishop Njongo Ndungane, former Archbishop of Cape Town, is a notable exception.

to decline as a focus for campaign groups and lobbyists, although it will still maintain a degree of influence.⁵² The Canadian Muskoka G8 summit of June 2010 and the G20 summit co-chaired with South Korea in Toronto immediately afterwards will in many ways mark the closing of this chapter in the G8's Africa focus. Although Canada wishes to maintain the G8 as a platform for developmental and international security issues (as well as Canadian influence in global affairs), Prime Minister Stephen Harper has accepted the critical role the G20 has played in responding to the recent global financial turmoil.⁵³ President Nicolas Sarkozy of France has expressed a degree of ambivalence towards the G8 – initially dismissing it, but latterly (and particularly since it has become clear a G14 is unlikely to emerge⁵⁴) wondering whether it might still have value.⁵⁵ Despite this uncertainty, the G20 has momentum behind it; the question is how to take forward the specific international focus on Africa's particular needs.

South Korean officials have already indicated that international development will play a role in their 2010 agenda (although 70 per cent of it is focused on pre-agreed global financial issues),⁵⁶ and some in South Korea see a concern with development in other countries as proof of its own fully developed status.⁵⁷ Yet South Korea is also keen not to expand the mandate of the G20 too quickly beyond its core economic focus, believing this to have been a flaw in the G7/8 process.⁵⁸ In fact, the G20 Pittsburgh declaration referred to broad commitments to improve 'fuel, food and finance to the world's poor', including specific measures on food security as well as a call to extend microfinance access and do more to address the impact of climate change on the poor.⁵⁹ The London summit had also made

“There is a clear difference between the manner in which many G8 countries frame development – in humanitarian, governance and aid terms – and the conception of many emerging powers that it is essentially about investment-led economic growth”

several commitments to mitigate impacts on the poor.⁶⁰ Crucially, some policy-makers in G8 countries see the G20 as a forum enabling discussion with the emerging powers on the very concept of effective development engagement. Certainly there is a clear difference between the manner in which many G8 countries frame development – in humanitarian, governance and aid terms – and the conception of many emerging powers that it is essentially about investment-led economic growth. A key point is that many G20 members are still developing countries, while others such as South Korea were poor countries less than a generation ago. Their perspective on what development means and how it can be assisted or undermined is often much more direct than among G8 countries. As chair of the G20 in 2010, South Korea has an opportunity to act as a bridge between these differing perceptions of development, and the high regard in which the African Union holds South Korea's recent Africa summits offers a strong foundation upon which to build.

52 If the G8's emphasis on Africa was partly a function of its sense of global responsibility as a pre-eminent global group, then inevitably that impulse will lessen as the G20 takes over that role.

53 'PM announces Canada to host G20 leaders in 2010', website of the office of the Prime Minister, 25 September 2009, <http://www.pm.gc.ca/ENG/media.asp?category=1&andid=2849>.

54 The concept of a Group of 14 (G14) is one of a number of alternative groupings to the G20 proposed by leaders – mainly of G8 countries – in order for them to maintain a greater relative influence in decision-making, since it has become apparent that the G8 may not continue.

55 Discours de M. Le Président de la République, 17ème conférence des Ambassadeurs, de l'Élysée – Wednesday 26 August 2009, http://www.elysee.fr/documents/index.php?mode=view&lang=fr&andcat_id=7&andpress_id=2851.

56 Private Chatham House meeting, November 2009.

57 The current South Korean government has committed itself to increasing development assistance from 0.1 per cent to 0.2 per cent of GDP over its term of office.

58 One of Canada's G8 priorities for 2010 has been to cut back on agenda items, including education and, to some extent, Africa.

59 Pittsburgh summit communiqué, <http://www.pittsburghsummit.gov/mediacenter/129639.htm>.

60 The Global Plan for Recovery and Reform, final communiqué of the G20 London summit, para 25, <http://www.g20.org/Documents/final-communiqued.pdf>.

The G8 has a long enough history to have established norms of behaviour and operation that the G20 so far lacks. For this reason it will take some years before the *modus operandi* of the G20 develops fully. It is far from clear whether the G20 will develop into a predictable process as the G8 has done.⁶¹ Some African states are already calling for it to be expanded to include more African members, and there is concern that it merely replicates G8 priorities.⁶² In South Africa in particular, senior policy-makers have questioned whether the G20 is too narrow and needs to be better integrated into the UN.⁶³ The G8 will continue with a security agenda, which, as noted, may be one of its most enduring contributions on Africa. A proposed stream within this on vulnerable states would be likely to focus on Yemen, Afghanistan and Haiti, but will touch on a number of African countries too. However, it is unlikely that many significant new commitments will be made on Africa specifically at either G8 or G20 summit level, not least because there are so many active initiatives on the international agenda, but also because, as indicated above, the momentum has slowed. Prime Minister Harper has already indicated that the Canadian G8 Presidency will focus in part on auditing, and improving implementation of commitments already made in relation to development.⁶⁴

On the other hand, as discussed in the previous chapter, the emergence of the G20 is representative of a fundamental shift in the way power is distributed globally. One African state – South Africa – is a part of the G20 and has the opportunity to be at the centre of these changes, while others, such as Angola, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda, are becoming more active internationally and more prepared to organize across the G77, within the AU, and in other forums to negotiate and secure their interests on a range of fronts.⁶⁵ The 2009 climate change

conference in Copenhagen was a notable example of African countries establishing a common position and projecting significant global influence (though this front broke down towards the conference's conclusion). This is not to say that high-level multilateral humanitarian initiatives will become redundant or less desirable in the foreseeable future. Internationally coordinated campaigns on health, poverty alleviation and food provision will be required and forthcoming, but coordination is likely to take place at a more devolved level than the G8 or G20 – for instance in the APF. Regional forums such as Japan's Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), the EU–Africa Partnership, and China's Forum on China–Africa Cooperation will also become more important. On a more fundamental level, some African states such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia will require special support and potentially multilateral interventions, yet a growing number of African states will require support more focused on business growth and capacity-building.

The legacy of the G8

Overall it seems fair to conclude that the G8 can claim some credit for acting as a focus, clearing-house and champion for some specific initiatives on Africa. It also played a key role in reversing the previously declining trend in aid to Africa. Yet the speed and resources with which its members responded to the recent global financial crisis demonstrate how far down the list of priorities Africa's challenges are in reality perceived to be in comparison with issues that are easily identified as directly threatening the interests of G8 members. The progress that was made by the G8 arguably occurred largely as a direct result of leadership from within Africa itself; progress diminished as that leadership weakened. This underscores

61 The double representation of some European countries as individual members and via the European Commission, and the European Union's anomalous membership as the only regional grouping, have been criticized as two potential sources of instability.

62 See the Communiqué from the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation from November 2009, <http://www.focac.org/eng/zxxx/t626387.htm>. See also L. Martinez-Diaz, 'The G20 After Eight Years: How Effective a Vehicle for Developing Country Influence?', Brookings Institution, 2007, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2007/1017development/1017development.pdf>.

63 This is despite South Africa's important role in creating the G20.

64 'G8 broke promises, Harper claims', *Vancouver Sun*, 11 July 2009, <http://www.vancouversun.com/cars/broke+promises+Harper+claims/1781324/story.html>

65 The African Development Bank and the African Union have hitherto been invited to attend many G20 meetings, but their role is ambiguous and contingent upon the wishes of the chair, unlike for instance the European Union.

Box 5: The Committee of 10: A quiet 'NEPAD' for the G20 era?

The Committee of 10 (C10) was formed in response to the global financial crisis. It held its first meeting in November 2008 and subsequent ones in Dar es Salaam, Abuja and, in February 2010, Cape Town.^a Comprising the finance ministers of Cameroon, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania, and the governors of the central banks of Algeria, Botswana, Kenya, the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) and the Bank of Central African States (BEAC), the C10 is co-hosted by the AU, the African Development Bank (AfDB), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).^b The C10's role is partly to better coordinate continent-wide economic measures to tackle the impact of the financial crisis. But it is also a reflection that in various multilateral forums or regulatory bodies such as the G20 or the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, only South Africa tends to have a formal place because of the size of its economy, but with often a half-expectation that it will represent Africa as a whole too. The C10 seeks to provide support and input to enable South Africa, or any other African country that may find itself in conversations related to international finance, to act more effectively in the interests of the continent as a whole.

The C10 is still in the early stages of formation and, like the G20, arose as a response to perceived inadequacies of pre-existing structures. Composed as it is of economists and finance ministers, it is not a political gathering as NEPAD was, and it does not have an explicit agenda to secure a 'new deal' for Africa. It is far less ambitious than NEPAD and has a far lower profile. Yet it does represent a challenge to African political leaders and to the AU in that it is overtly reform-minded and can claim great authority on financial issues. There are no signs that the C10 wishes to exceed its financial mandate or challenge bodies such as the AU to become the principal representative body for Africa, even on such issues. This is a great strength. There is no guarantee that the C10 will survive or put down roots any more than the G20 will, but it may yet prove to be a quietly effective vehicle for ensuring Africa's needs are heard, even when its individual countries are largely excluded from international discussions.

a 'C10 calls on non-regional member countries to support general capital increase', press release, AfDB, 21 February 2010, <http://www.afdb.org/en/news-events/article/c10-calls-on-non-regional-member-countries-to-support-general-capital-increase-5606/>.

b C10 website hosted by the AfDB <http://www.afdb.org/en/topics-sectors/topics/financial-crisis/committee-of-ten/>.

once again how important it is for G8 countries and others to be presented with a compelling, self-interested reason for engaging with Africa. It also underscores the centrality of focused, sophisticated and strategic African leadership.

It is much harder to make a judgment on the degree to which G8 actions have contributed to African economic performance. Most African states have improved in fundamental economic aspects over the last ten years. While growth rates across the continent averaged 2.5 per cent from 1990 to 1999, they averaged 4.8 per cent between

2000 and 2008.⁶⁶ Over the same periods inflation has dropped from 11 per cent to 6.8 per cent, while population growth rates have remained roughly at 2.3 per cent. Yet these headline figures hide a wide variation in performance: while the absolute number of poor people has grown, it has decreased as a proportion of the population;⁶⁷ and the number of people with disposable income has also grown, helped by the steadily improving implementation of business and governance reforms.⁶⁸ Combined with the opportunities and publicity commensurate with

66 *Africa Development Indicators 2010* (Washington, DC: World Bank), p. 40.

67 Africa Progress Panel Report, *Preserving Progress at a Time of Global Crisis*, January 2009, <http://www.africaprogresspanel.org/EN/publications/briefs/20090130Africa-per cent20Preserving per cent20progress per cent20at per cent20a per cent20time per cent20of per cent20global per cent20crisis.pdf>.

68 See, for instance, the improvement of many African countries over time in the World Bank's Doing Business Index, <http://www.doingbusiness.org/>, as well as in annual reports from the Africa Progress Panel and the Ibrahim Index, <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/en>.

high commodity prices, new oil finds and renewed Asian investment, this has driven up foreign direct investment to the point where in the first half of 2008 – just before the financial crisis – Africa was showing a 27 per cent year-on-year increase in FDI inflows. At \$87.6 billion they were higher than those into Japan, South Asia, Southeast Asia or Southeast Europe.⁶⁹ Again, a huge proportion of this was in the form of capital-intensive oil and gas investments, and these figures hide huge variations. However, the general picture has been one of steady, if uneven and somewhat fragile improvement from the point of view of economic growth.

‘Health outcomes are almost certainly better than they would have been without initiatives linked directly to decisions by the G8’

What began almost ten years ago as an attempt to clarify and energize a single focus for international and African partnership around the Africa Action Plan has, as described above, dissipated into a large number of overlapping and competing initiatives emanating from multiple agencies, governments and multilateral institutions, such that it is now virtually impossible (if it ever was) to separate cause from effect.⁷⁰ In this sense it is not possible to prove categorically that G8 engagement on Africa has led to specific improved outcomes in terms of headline figures of economic growth, but there is little doubt that it has led to a general improvement.

A 'spaghetti bowl' of initiatives and targets

During the G20 Pittsburgh summit in September 2009, one G8 leader said unreservedly that the G8 had failed. Another senior policy-maker has admitted that the G8

process in its more recent years had become ‘a circus’.⁷¹ Yet the current phase of G8 engagements with, and on, Africa has resulted in a number of improvements around aid, including higher levels, better quality and stronger coordination. The 2010 Canadian G8 presidency, as part of a ‘back to basics’ approach, is seeking to evaluate past G8 commitments on development since 2005 through an accountability exercise. The intention is to develop an objective report on what the G8 has delivered and where it has failed, and to draw out lessons that would be useful for future G8 and G20 presidencies.

As far as general commitments go, it is probable that much of the G8 will achieve them by the 2010 summit in Canada. Canada, Japan and the United States will almost certainly meet their pledges. So will the UK, with a small increase to its aid budget, and so might Germany.⁷² Only France and Italy are likely to fall significantly short. Italy cut its aid budget by 50 per cent in the run-up to its own G8 summit in 2009. (Ironically, the decline in GDP suffered by all G8 countries as a consequence of the recent recession has greatly helped some to increase aid as a proportion of GDP.)

Health outcomes are almost certainly better than they would have been without initiatives linked directly to decisions by the G8. The number of young people in primary and secondary (though not tertiary) education is also significantly higher thanks to the actions of the G8. As already noted, considerable investment has gone into supporting African efforts in peace and security, and there has been limited but important progress. Less progress has been made in agriculture, and in water and sanitation.

The G8 has had some success in promoting and sustaining progress in African development. The willingness of G8 leaders in 2000 to meet with and take up the suggestions of the founders of NEPAD was to their credit, as was the decision to endorse and support the APF in 2003. Since that time there have been important mile-

69 UNCTAD, *World Investment Report 2009: Transnational Corporations, Agricultural Production and Development*, Annex table B.1 and FDI database.

70 See Annex.

71 Private Chatham House meetings.

72 For more detail and explanation of the exact pledges made, see the *Data Report 2010: Monitoring the G8 Promise to Africa*, <http://www.one.org/report/2010/en/downloads/>. Also see OECD ODA figures for 2010, ‘Development aid rose in 2009 and most donors will meet 2010 aid targets’, OECD press release, 14 April 2010, http://www.oecd.org/document/11/0,3343,en_2649_34487_44981579_1_1_1_1,00.html.

stones, such as the specific 2005 commitments to more than double aid to Africa from 2004 levels by 2010, and the commitment to cancel 100 per cent of the debts of those countries eligible. Yet for the most part G8 communiqués have avoided being too specific about inputs, outputs, firm dates and targets. Instead, the value of the G8, as indicated above, has come through its championing of causes (from high-level causes such as African development itself to the more specific innovative financing mechanisms, or the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria), and its promotion and endorsement of existing or new initiatives (such as NEPAD and the APF) and processes (the Monterrey Consensus, the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action).

In this context, the measurement of success is more subjective than a simple linking of commitments to outcomes might indicate. The increase in the number and quality of organizations and publications monitoring G8 commitments of varying degrees of specificity is very welcome and provides useful indicators. The One and the Africa Progress Panel reports, in particular, offer valuable assessments⁷³ and some small praise for G8 efforts, considerably tempered by criticism of failures. At the other extreme some civil society groups are far more damning about the G8's efforts.⁷⁴ The Canadian focus in 2010 on accountability regarding aid commitments made by the G8 back to 2005 has led to efforts to quantify commitments made during each year and identify which governments have delivered what. Yet identifying what is a time-limited commitment, as opposed to an aspiration or intention, remains a major challenge to objective assessment of success and failure. The risk is that any such judgments inevitably become mired in claims of partiality and spin. This inability to audit is in itself a worryingly basic flaw in past G8 activity on Africa, given that this activity has been undertaken by eight of the most

advanced bureaucracies in the world. It would not be over-cynical to suggest that such opacity may have been a deliberate (if ultimately self-defeating) strategy of governments seeking primarily to placate campaigners and others. The current Canadian accountability initiative will be a telling indicator of whether such a strategy was employed, or indeed continues.⁷⁵

The G8 as an anchor for consensus

Taking a step back from individual successes or failures, and examining the origins, evolution and political context of the G8's Africa focus, it seems clear that the G8, spurred by NEPAD, has played a central role in establishing points of fragile consensus regarding African development. These include:

Improved business climate

A raft of G8, multilateral and African initiatives has encouraged African states to improve their business and regulatory environment, as has the removal of institutional obstacles in the international system that prevent African goods and services accessing developed-country markets.⁷⁶ This has included once again in recent years a push to establish better communications, transport, energy and IT infrastructures. Much of the drive for these initiatives has come from African leaders themselves; trade and business formed a central element of NEPAD.

Governance and legal reform

Alongside business and regulatory reform, there has been a continued push for further democratic and legal improvement. One of the major changes across Africa since the end of the Cold War has been the dramatic increase in the number of states that have implemented constitutional reform to allow the form, if not necessarily the substance, of multi-party democracy, alongside a public commitment

73 *Data Report 2010*.

74 See, for instance, <http://www.actionaid.org/pages.aspx?PageID=34&ItemID=480> and <http://www.wvi.org/wvi/wiweb.nsf/updates/0160A0DC7A1A223B882575ED007A36C4?opendocument>.

75 The Canadian exercise seeks to go through each G8 chair's report and group together commitments into six to ten 'buckets' before making an assessment of whether and how such commitments were implemented. The challenge of doing this is clear, with officials at one stage drawing up 165 pages of potential commitments. Other than uncertainty as to what amounts to a commitment, challenges include different currencies employed in commitments and differences over financial years.

76 There are too many initiatives to list here, but a casual glance at the websites of the World Bank, IFC, IMF and AfDB, as well as G8 aid departments, will quickly reveal their sheer number.

to the principle of an independent judiciary and the rule of law.⁷⁷ NEPAD, the Africa Action Plan and subsequent G8 commitments have been predicated upon the need for continued reform in these spheres.

Increased aid levels and effectiveness

The aid world is complex and often confusing, even for those who work within it. Observers often emphasize or de-emphasize various attributes depending upon whether they are critical or supportive of aid.⁷⁸ In fact, as Roger Riddell points out in his comprehensive overview of aid and its impacts, the question of effectiveness is impossible to answer.⁷⁹ Some aid works some of the time under certain circumstances. For certain sectors it seems extremely difficult to argue that aid has not had a significant positive impact for millions of people, even with the valid criticisms made of the underlying achievements. Certainly the crucial role that aid can play, if not the levels at which it is most appropriate, is now fairly well established in international forums.

Regional integration

Unfortunately, Africa has suffered from a multiplicity of competing, overlapping and often unsubstantial regional organizations, which has greatly lessened the benefits that regional integration could bring. In recent years efforts by most donors (EU-ACP negotiations excepted) to support a rationalized integration have increased, and African governments have improved their coordination of some of the most successful arrangements such as the East African Community, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West

African States. New initiatives from the economic and security spheres, such as the African Peace and Security Architecture and the North-South Corridor Programme, have sometimes helped and sometimes hindered the consolidation of regional communities, but the broad consensus is that such integration should be assisted.

Climate change adaptation

This is a relatively recent policy area for much of the mainstream development community, but it has come to dominate discourse and fundraising campaigns in recent years, even to the extent of challenging aid as a mobilizing discourse for campaign groups and G8 governments.⁸⁰ It is set to become the main campaigning tool for many development NGOs for the foreseeable future. The novelty of the challenge means that the tremendous amount of activity around establishing policy and promoting messages belies a massive uncertainty as to how and where climate change will affect African states, but at least it is now increasingly acknowledged within international discussions related to Africa.

As stated above, there is and will remain considerable debate and disagreement about how goals in these broad areas are implemented, and how they relate to each other. What is remarkable, however, is that a broad adherence to them extends beyond policy communities in the G8 and OECD to those in large emerging-economy countries that are expanding their development role in poor countries, including in Africa. If this consensus can be fully embedded within G20 countries' thinking, then this may be the most lasting legacy of the G8 on Africa.

77 See, for instance, Freedom House statistics, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=383&report=57>.

78 For instance, Dambisa Moyo emphasizes direct budgetary support in her highly critical polemic on aid, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa* (London: Penguin, 2009).

79 Roger C. Riddell, *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

80 For more detail see Camilla Toulmin, *Climate Change in Africa* (London/New York: Zed Books, 2009).

2. The Importance of Africa to the G8 and Others

Introduction

Africa is the second largest continent in the world, with more countries than any other, with a billion people – one-sixth of the world's population – spread across a diverse range of climatic zones.⁸¹ Africa is geographically well located to benefit from a global economy, and is an important source of the raw materials essential for global growth, while its rainforests play a crucial role in balancing the planet's climate

Unfortunately, Africa's combined economies amount to less than two per cent of total global income.⁸² Its total share of global trade is less than 3.5 per cent,⁸³ concentrated in the extractive sector. Its 53 countries suffer disproportionately from poverty, instability and poor governance. To outsiders (and many insiders) the complexity of the challenges faced, and the apparent failures to take advantage of immense potential on offer, often merge into a single insoluble problem, for which the word Africa has become shorthand.

Yet such a response is essentially emotional. The reality is that African states, both individually and collectively, have an important and growing role in international affairs. This is evidenced in the increasing number of systemically significant countries in the G20 and beyond

that are boosting their diplomatic and trade links with Africa, many of which are explored below. The very complexity of the continent's politics, and the speed with which dramatic changes are taking place, is a reason in itself for those concerned to preserve and enhance stability in the international system to take an active interest in the continent's affairs. But there are also more self-interested reasons for them to do so.

Inevitably, these can be understood most easily as threats. Unmanaged migration, crime, disease and terrorism are no less real for the depressing familiarity of the prejudices that accompany them. These threats are increasingly discussed openly, where once they were not, and an honest engagement with them is to be welcomed.

Less noticeable, to the point of absence until relatively recently, has been an interest from the policy world in the positive strategic opportunities and benefits that would accrue internationally, and to individual global players, from a powerful, wealthy, active and assertive collection of African states in international affairs. For much of the 1980s and 1990s such a consideration was of no relevance for pragmatic policy-makers. Yet the last decade has seen such a dramatic and fundamental change across many states in Africa that this vision amounts to more than just a hypothetical consideration. This is not to say that all, or even most, African states are likely to be assertive, wealthy or stable in the foreseeable future. However, enough have an opportunity to achieve this to warrant a more self-interested consideration by G8 governments and others of how to assist and benefit from such an eventuality.

Access to resources and energy security

Access to natural resources has long been considered axiomatic in terms of political considerations of Africa, and has itself become bound up with the emotive discourse between former colonial powers and people across the continent over ownership, control and the sharing of

81 At about 30.3 million square kilometres, Africa is larger than China, India, Western Europe & Brazil combined.

82 <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GNI.pdf>. (Note, however, that if it were a single country, sub-Saharan Africa alone would have had the 14th largest economy in the world in 2008.)

83 http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/its2009_e/its09_world_trade_dev_e.htm.

benefits. Yet while other forms of commercial activity are growing across Africa and provide an increasing incentive for emerging economies to trade with African states, for the most part access to Africa's abundant natural resources is still the predominant interest and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

This is not surprising: Africa has almost 40 per cent of many of the basic mineral resources required to fuel global industry, as well as 10 per cent of the world's fresh-water supplies and 15 per cent of the world's agricultural land (see Table 1). For these reasons alone Africa is likely to become ever more strategically important in the international system. Preventing conflict will be key, and negotiating access in a way that reflects fairly the rights of local people, as well as the increasing number of international actors seeking to benefit, will be complex but necessary if resources are to be extracted and used sustainably. Most Western countries have a poor record in this area.

Africa is playing an increasing role in energy security. West Africa in particular is emerging as a pivotal source of oil, with complex and delicate incentives involved in choosing whether to supply principally Eastern or Western markets.⁸⁴ The United States now imports more oil from Africa than it does from the Middle East – around 22 per cent against around 17 per cent.⁸⁵ Some countries have the opportunity to pursue strategic interests via commercial energy deals in Africa. For instance, investments in Nigeria by Russia's Gazprom could increase Russian control of the European gas supply.⁸⁶ Increased dependency on oil and gas from African states will give them greater global influence. This is reflected in the growing number of global leaders visiting large African oil-producers such as Angola.

Yet the Western humanitarian-dominated discourse on Africa prevents a sober recognition of these issues, instead tending to oversimplify and stigmatize commercial activity, rather than engage with it to improve behaviour.

Far from preventing further abuse, this approach merely leaves greater opportunities for companies from those countries that may have little or no concern for the concept of corporate social responsibility.⁸⁷ These new partners increase their diplomatic links and largesse to guarantee their investments. In turn, as Western companies leave, Western diplomats are withdrawn, meaning that traditional relations and all the positive benefits and advantages that have taken decades to build up can be quickly overturned and replaced with a new dispensation. This leads to a self-reinforcing downward spiral, where fewer trade and diplomatic links lead to less concern and information in Western capitals and less chance that resources will be allocated to recognize or seize strategic opportunities in Africa as they arise.

“ In an increasingly competitive and multipolar world, more countries are seeing commercial and political opportunities in Africa ”

On the other hand, as described further below, the growing commercial opportunities mean that many emerging economies in the G20 are already boosting their diplomatic and trade links with African states to gain support for their own strategic objectives, such as elected places on the UN Security Council or support in multilateral negotiations, as well as access to the natural resources and markets in Africa. Some countries, such as Iran and Venezuela, are also engaging with Africa to further agendas that are often directly contradictory Western interests.⁸⁸ Western policy-makers often treat such claims as overblown and simply designed to

84 See N. Mabey and J. Mitchell, forthcoming report on the UK's approach to energy and climate security, in the Chatham House project on 'Rethinking the UK's International Ambitions and Choices'.

85 Energy Information Administration statistics 2009 – see http://tonto.eia.doe.gov/dnav/pet/pet_move_impqus_a2_nus_ep00_im0_mbbi_m.htm.

86 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8118721.stm>.

87 Sudan is a good case in point. Pressure on Western companies to withdraw simply led to their replacement by Indian and other companies.

88 Venezuela hosted the second Africa–South America summit in 2009. President Hugo Chávez said there was 'a natural alliance' between Africans and South Americans 'which should be decisively strengthened in practical ways. We share common problems, which have the same causes and roots. [...] As a result of this summit, we want Caracas to become an arrival point and a centre of activities and connections with Africa.' Humberto Marquez, 'New Summit to Boost Cooperation', IPS News, September 2009, <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=48548>.

Table 1: Percentage of the world's natural reserves to be found in Africa

Natural resource	Total African reserves (1000 metric tonnes)	Total world reserves (1000 metric tonnes)	% of world reserves in Africa
Antimony	44.0	2,100.0	2.1
Barite	19.0	170.0	11.0
Bauxite	7,400.0	27,000.0	27.4
Chromium*	130.0	350.0	37.1
Cobalt	3,670.0	6,600.0	55.6
Copper	19.0	540.0	3.5
Diamond	3.5	580.0	0.6
Fluorspar	46.0	230.0	20.0
Gold	7.6	47.0	16.0
Iron ore:			
<i>Crude ore</i>	1.7	160.0	1.1
<i>Iron content</i>	1.1	77.0	1.4
Lead	0.3	79.0	0.4
Lithium	23.0	9,900.0	0.2
Manganese+	182.0	540.0	33.7
Nickel	4,190.0	71,000.0	5.9
Phosphate rock	7,540.0	16,000.0	47.0
Platinum**	63,800.0	71,000.0	89.8
Soda ash	427.0	24,000.0	1.8
Thorium	35.0	1,300.0	2.7
Titanium mineral concentrates			
<i>Ilmenite</i>	119.0	680.0	17.5
<i>Rutile</i>	11.6	45.0	25.7
Vanadium	3,000.0	13,000.0	23.0
Zinc	>62	200.0	31.0
Zirconium	0.014	0.056	25.0
Total	90,731.744	245,598.056	37.0
Oil & gas	Total African reserves	Total world reserves	% of world reserves in Africa
Oil (inc. crude & condensate)	117.1 billion barrels	1,342.2 billion barrels	8.7
Natural gas	494.1 trillion cubic feet	6,254.4 trillion cubic feet	7.9
	Total African reserves (1000/ HA)	Total world reserves (1000 HA)	% of world reserves in Africa
Arable land++	219,183.3	1,411,117.4	15.5
	Africa annual renewable water resources (KM³ per year)	Total renewable water resources (KM³ per year)	% of world withdrawal in Africa
Fresh water++	5,723.5	55,096.8	10.3

*95% in southern Africa & Kazakhstan

**Data on platinum are approximate, as data are not available for Zimbabwean reserves

+South Africa has approx 80% of identified sources

++ Based on very variable data

NB There are large mica deposits in Madagascar, data not available. There are large tin deposits in Western and Southeastern Africa, data not available

Sources: Mineral Commodity Summaries, US Geological Survey, 2010, <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/mcs/2010/mcs2010.pdf>;
Oil & Gas Journal, US Dept of Energy, Energy Information Administration, 2009, <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/international/reserves.html>;
 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2009 <http://faostat.fao.org/site/377/default.aspx#ancor>;
 Pacific Institute, *The World's Water*, 2006. <http://www.worldwater.org/data.html>

manipulate them. They base this on the assumption that the aid relationship and their historical links with African countries will always enable them to overcome attempts by others to undermine them. Yet the point is not simply that certain countries' engagement with Africa presents some kind of threat to Western interests. In an increasingly competitive and multipolar world, more countries are seeing commercial and political opportunities in Africa that are currently being overlooked by traditional partners such as the United Kingdom. This is due on the latter's part to a lack of sustained, serious diplomatic engagement, and an over-reliance on aid policies that rarely deliver influence and on historical ties that are fading.⁸⁹

Recent changes across Africa

Since the end of the Cold War, when much of Africa was mired in conflict and declining growth levels, there has been dramatic improvement in the situation and prospects of most African states. Governance and growth rates have improved to the point where Africa has been the fastest-growing region of the world for some years. Inflation has dropped, fiscal policy has improved and investment returns have increased. Yet while conventional wisdom is that recent growth has been largely driven by higher commodity prices, there is much evidence that increased consumption has played a central role, driven by and further driving the emergence in many African countries of a more assertive middle class with disposable wealth and an appetite for consumer goods.⁹⁰ This is highly significant because it points to a more critical and robust relationship between governments and taxpaying citizens, one that cements good governance and pro-growth reforms. Africa seems increasingly to be the final frontier for economic globalization; arguably it has already become the most politically globalized.

Aid is still crucially important to millions in Africa, but in the last decade stability has increased and business has flourished in many countries. Nearly all governments in Africa now have a greater sense of what they need to do to stimulate growth and are seeking the tools to do it. The financial crisis may have contributed to instability in those countries that have long suffered from it, but the continent as a whole is set to recover strongly as global growth returns.⁹¹

Concurrently, African states are becoming more active and assertive international actors, developing coherent foreign policies and pursuing them on the world stage. Examples include the impact of the 'cotton four' (Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali) in WTO negotiations,⁹² the increasing African caucusing around climate change and in the Doha trade talks; the rising numbers of interventions by the African Union within the continent itself (as in Burundi, Comoros, Darfur and Somalia); and the greater assertiveness shown by African non-permanent members of the UN Security Council across a range of issues, including sanctions.

Clearly very real problems and threats remain, but there has been a marked growth in informed public debate regarding governance questions in African countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, and even Zimbabwe.⁹³ The threats from major shocks remain, such as a return to conflict in the Great Lakes region or in Sudan, or governance breakdown in Nigeria (or a combination of these), and most glaringly from the ongoing financial crisis. Yet there are good reasons to believe that positive changes have the potential to become entrenched. If they do, growth is likely to continue and increase. As these zones of growth spread and connect throughout Africa, the impact could drive greater and deeper reforms in countries such as the Central African Republic, the DRC and Guinea that are still much further behind in development terms, producing a virtuous spiral of reform and growth.

89 For a more detailed recent discussion of this see Ian Taylor, *The International Relations of Sub-Saharan Africa* (New York: Continuum Books, 2010).

90 Standard Chartered PEI Africa Forum. For a good, if in places anecdotal, exploration of this emerging middle class, particularly from a marketing point of view, see Vijay Mahajan, *Africa Rising: How 900 Million African Consumers Offer More Than You Think* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing, 2008).

91 See *IMF Regional Economic Outlook: Sub-Saharan Africa*, April 2010, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2010/AFR/eng/sreo0410.htm>.

92 Donna Lee, 'The Political Economy of Small States in the WTO', *The Round Table*, Vol. 97, Issue 395, April 2008, pp. 259–71

93 This is quite different from suggesting that democracy prevails in these countries; it is merely that the debate regarding it has advanced, and a concern for accountability has increased.

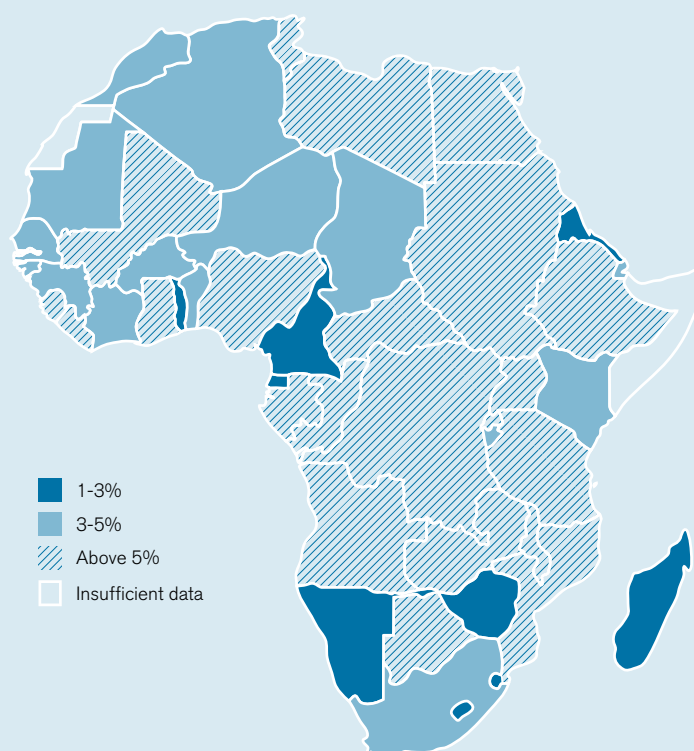
Box 6: The impact of the financial crisis

The global financial crisis of 2008–09 had a severe impact on ordinary people across Africa, coming as it did on the heels of already sky-high fuel, food and fertilizer prices that had led to civil unrest in several African countries. Growth dropped from 6.1 per cent in 2007 to around 1.4 per cent in 2009. Capital flows, remittances, commodity prices, export demand and tourist numbers all declined, threatening to push between eight and ten million people back into extreme poverty.

Yet African economies proved to be surprisingly resilient in the face of the crisis, with many African central banks coordinating action to cut interest rates and stimulate demand in a manner that surprised and reassured many observers. Commodity prices have recovered faster than expected, and growth is expected to rebound to 4.5 per cent in 2010.^a

The financial crisis is likely to have a lasting impact in terms of delayed progress and some reversals, particularly in countries with already poor governance, but overall markets in Africa have recovered well, and investor interest is returning more strongly than many predicted.^b In some ways, the manner in which much of Africa weathered the economic storm may have strengthened rather than weakened its growth prospects in the longer term. However, it may also accentuate the divergence in economic fortunes between countries, which is making it ever less meaningful to generalize about Africa's economic fortunes.

Figure 1: Sub-Saharan Africa: average real GDP growth in 2010–11 (%)



Source: IMF, *World Economic Outlook Update 2010*, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/update/01/index.htm>.

a IMF press release, 'IMF Managing Director Strauss-Kahn calls on Africa to rebuild policy foundations shaken by global economic crisis', March 2010, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/pr/2010/pr1073.htm>.

b *Standard Chartered Global Focus: Africa*, 20 February 2010.

G8 responses

There is now a growing realization of these opportunities in G8 countries and of the need for a more strategic response. The establishment of the APF between the G8 and African countries, the broad argument of the UK's 2005 Commission for Africa Report (*Our Common Interest*), and the report and subsequent book by the US Council on Foreign Relations task force (*More than Humanitarianism: A Strategic US Approach Toward Africa*) are examples of this recognition.⁹⁴ The emergence of the EU–Africa Strategic Partnership, the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation, and the India–Africa Forum, all pre-dated by TICAD, are also examples. Yet so far there has been insufficient evidence of a change in the tone of a (largely Western) popular or policy debate that still manifests itself almost exclusively in emotional and humanitarian terms. There is a sense in which policy-makers still regard Africa-related engagement as essentially soft and non-strategic, except when it comes to a very narrow set of negative issues. The international news media generally reinforce and reflect this in their coverage.

Diplomacy-led vs development-led engagement

There is an understandable exasperation that so many conversations around greater G8 African engagement can be summarized as calls for more resources to be deployed and greater sums committed. Yet it is equally a truism that underinvestment is a principal obstacle to growth for many African countries. Overcoming the underlying causes of this underinvestment demands a political response, the onus of which ultimately lies on the government of each African country. This in turn requires

close political engagement on the part of external powers seeking to influence these governments.

Yet at present, too many G8 countries define their relationships with most African countries as primarily developmental in nature. Ironically, framing relations in such terms can be counterproductive to development goals: while developmental relations are essential, and will remain so for the foreseeable future for many African states, a development-led relationship is implicitly clientelist, i.e. it institutionalizes an unequal power relationship between donor and recipient.⁹⁵ In the context of a history of colonialism, perceived oppression and disrespect for sovereignty by external powers, such relationships breed resentment in Africa, even if they are intended primarily to benefit the recipient country.⁹⁶ A strong and diplomatically framed engagement can better demonstrate respect for the sovereignty of the recipient government. Such an explicit and implicit recognition of respect for sovereignty is a prerequisite for (though not guarantee of) the sort of influence and engagement necessary to influence policy within that country.⁹⁷

The first practical step necessary to achieve this kind of engagement is to increase both the quantity and the quality of diplomatic engagement with African states. A strong diplomatic engagement provides tools for leverage and influence that a development-led relationship lacks. Non-aid-related tools such as the encouragement of foreign direct investment and support for greater regionalization and economic integration, which are essential for development goals across Africa, can generally be much more easily encouraged and pursued at a diplomatic and trade level than through development channels. Coordinating with other countries, increasingly important under the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and other similar initiatives, is far more easily undertaken on a diplomatic rather than developmental basis. Engagement with the private sector by G8 countries seeking to increase the level and

94 Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa*, London, 2005; Anthony Lake, Christine Todd-Whitman and Princeton Lyman, *More than Humanitarianism: A Strategic US Approach Toward Africa*, Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force Report No. 56, New York, 2006.

95 For a more detailed discussion of some of the dangers inherent in donor relations with weak states, see the OECD Report *Do No Harm: International Support for Statebuilding*, 2010, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/32/44409926.pdf>.

96 E. Maudsley, "Postcolonial Donors" and the Changing Landscape of Foreign Aid: Contributions from Gift Theory, unpublished paper, presented at a Chatham House conference, London, April 2010.

97 Private interviews with senior African officials.

share of private-sector investment they have in Africa is also more appropriately coordinated at a diplomatic and trade level.

The dangers of a purely diplomacy- and business-led engagement

While a strong diplomacy-led engagement is important, a separate and strong developmental focus is also critical. A purely or overwhelmingly diplomatic approach could bring back the kind of narrowly exploitative and dismissive approach that characterized the relations of some countries with Africa in the past, and which did not recognize the potential of strategic partnerships. This is particularly important as more emerging economies become interested in strengthening their engagement across Africa, since they bring very different conceptions of what is acceptable business and diplomatic practice. The establishment of the Department for International Development in the United Kingdom and the renewed developmental focus that has taken place elsewhere in recent years has been an important corrective to this former approach, and the gains achieved have been real and welcome. For this reason there should remain a separate and strong development stream, but diplomats need to be energized, enthused and cognizant of the strategic self-interest of the country they are representing. Similarly, while G8 countries and others need to enthuse, encourage and empower their private sectors to invest in and benefit from growth in African countries, they also need strong regulatory and political oversight to ensure investments are legal and responsible.

To do all this requires a greater investment in the quality and number of Africa departments in the foreign ministries of the G8. At present, many such departments are still wrongly considered career backwaters for less able or ambitious civil servants. This has perhaps begun to change for the better in Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, but it is very early days. In France the status of Africa-related governmental work is still declining. In other countries, such as Japan and Italy, Africa-related work is still seen as a career niche.

Alongside this increase in energy and human capacity, there needs to be a greater focus on information collection and analysis. The complexity of politics in many African

countries requires far greater study within governments than is currently the case. It cannot be assumed that this information is always available in the private sector at present in the way policy-makers need it. Academic political expertise related to individual African states across the G8 and beyond has been overwhelmed in recent decades by the move towards thematic and development studies. The generation of government researchers who were content to spend many years within foreign ministries building up deep expertise is also gone. The role of research institutes such as Chatham House in filling this gap in expertise is becoming ever greater, but it is clearly not in the national interest of any state to become over-reliant on any one external source, and such expertise needs to be packaged and presented so that policy-makers can act upon it.

“While G8 countries and others need to enthuse, encourage and empower their private sectors to invest in and benefit from growth in African countries, they also need strong regulatory and political oversight to ensure investments are legal and responsible”

Finally, there needs to be a much greater emphasis on building and sustaining progressive alliances across African states. These will work to support the good governance and growth agenda to achieve the benefits described above, and to gain greater leverage over those states that fail to support that agenda, in Africa or beyond. Ultimately, distilling the energy and ambition of the global emerging economic powers, and emphasizing the oversight, sustainability and regulation increasingly expected (if not delivered) in most G8 countries, are most likely to support the transformative growth agenda increasingly being pursued by reformist African governments.

The benefits of a more strategic engagement between G8 and African states

Economic benefits

There is a marked lack of data on the global economic benefits that would flow from a significantly more economically active Africa, but a broad estimate suggests that, in combination, low-income African countries attaining middle-income status would add \$4.7 trillion dollars (or 7.8 per cent) to global GDP – roughly equivalent to another China⁹⁸ – and that is without factoring in the reduced costs of UN and other multilateral involvement, given that the UN Security Council currently spends two-thirds of its time on African issues.⁹⁹ Among all the regions of the world, Africa has already recorded several years as offering the highest return on investment. With much evidence that a growing number of countries have the opportunity to achieve middle-income status (joining South Africa, Botswana, and eleven others),¹⁰⁰ companies outside Africa which establish strong links with the continent now will benefit disproportionately from this growth. This is already apparent in China's engagement with African states. Other countries, such as Germany, seem also to recognize this, but the UK, US and others still do not appear to have fully grasped this dimension (there is some evidence that the US may be focusing on it in a reaction to China's re-engagement with Africa). Much economic work has concentrated on what benefits economic growth would bring to Africa, and far too little on the global economic benefits of growth in Africa.

Political benefits

Global governance structures and power relations are undergoing radical change, as the United States and the

Western bloc are beginning to lose their hegemony. Power is becoming more diffuse and the influence of overlapping, competing and shifting alliances of countries will grow. With more member states than any other regional bloc, the African Union is likely to play an ever more influential role in these emerging global power structures. Certainly a growing number of ambitious or contentious regional powers such as Iran, Libya, China and India are increasing their activities in Africa with a greater or lesser view to garnering support within the UN and other multilateral forums and helping to shape the terms of global debates. The 2009 trip by the Israeli Foreign Minister to several African countries, the first in 20 years, is also evidence of this. So are Turkey's ambitious embassy-building programme across Africa, driven by business demand, and the South Korean president's Africa trip planned for 2010. There is less evidence that G8 countries have grasped the need to do the same, though US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's trip in August 2009, following President Obama's brief visit to Ghana, was a recognition of this. Japan's long-standing emphasis on its TICAD forum for relations with African states is recognition of the importance of the relationships, though one still framed in developmental terms.

Social benefits

The emotional approach inherent in the way many countries frame their relations with Africa (and vice versa) is partly a consequence of guilt, over colonial and Cold War exploitation, and over the legacy of slavery. It is also partly a result of the acute sensitivities over such a glaring global disparity of wealth along racial lines, particularly between Western Europe and North America on the one hand, and Africa (along with parts of Asia and South America) on the other. At the same time, policy-makers in increasingly

98 <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/>. This figure is derived from comparing current sub-Saharan Africa's GDP with that of other regions. Thirty of the 43 countries with the lowest income in the world are in Africa. The combined GDP of Africa's lowest-income countries is \$235.06 billion, or 0.4 per cent of global GDP. This would be an increase of 7.8 per cent, or \$4.7 trillion, on current global GDP in 2008 figures.

99 This is often dismissed by policy-makers as being an example of the *lack* of importance of African issues, because the Security Council finds it easier to address issues that are not strategically contentious. However, this is not the same as lack of importance – and the vast amounts of money spent by the UN on peacekeeping and other activities in Africa belie this. Of course, Security Council members could also be wrong about the strategic importance of Africa, and therefore be doing the right thing for the wrong reasons.

100 For more information about these, see African Development Bank Group, *Middle Income Countries*, <http://www.afdb.org/en/topics-sectors/initiatives-partnerships/middle-income-countries/>.

ethnically mixed Western countries are attempting to counter prejudices and racial stigma, and promote multicultural societies. The existence of a good number of influential and wealthy African states would make an extremely powerful contribution to promoting social cohesion and undermining prejudice more generally.

Environmental benefits

Climate change has become a major strategic issue for G8 countries. Africa's disproportionately large role in influencing the climate is increasingly recognized,¹⁰¹ but the diplomatic tools for G8 members to influence that role, let alone assess how it should and could be influenced, are still minimal. Data quality across much of Africa is poor and on climate change the data themselves are still highly speculative, but a strong engagement with African states is clearly in the strategic interest of G8 members. There are justifiable concerns in relation to the potential environmental risks posed by stronger economic growth in African states, but this issue must be tackled head on if either growth or environmental targets are to be achieved. At the moment there is little evidence that this is the case, though the initially assertive role played by the Africa caucus at the Copenhagen climate change summit in 2009 surprised many.

G8 country-specific interests in Africa

There are benefits that would result more or less evenly from closer engagement by G8 countries with African countries and the continent as a whole. However, individual G8 members have specific interests in a closer engagement that are being realized to a greater or lesser extent.

Canadian interests

Canada's strategic interest in actively engaging with African states has historically been linked to its desire to be seen as an influential independent actor in international affairs.¹⁰² Canada's long-standing support for and engagement with the UN is consistent with this, as is its promotion of other multilateral initiatives such as the Kimberley Process to control the flow of illicit diamonds and the Ottawa Mine Ban Treaty. Canada is also the largest non-African investor in the mining sector in Africa.

Canada's specific focus on Africa, most recently stemming from its 2002 G8 presidency, has been linked to its desire to maintain its position in the G8 and also to its planned bid for a place on the UN Security Council in 2010. The UN votes of African countries are key to the latter. Yet there is also humanitarian interest, as Canada has a vocal civil society that campaigns on Africa, conflict and poverty-related issues. Additional interest has derived from the relatively large African diasporas living in Canada, including from Somalia and the Horn of Africa.

In recent years this 'internationalist' approach has been qualified, as criticism of foreign aid effectiveness and more conservative governments have combined to reduce the Canadian developmental 'footprint' across Africa.¹⁰³ A highly critical report by the Canadian Senate in 2009 was significant in placing Canadian engagement with Africa on far more sceptical track.¹⁰⁴ Antipathy between Prime Minister Harper and development NGOs has been blamed for possibly accelerating the switch in focus from Africa to South America, though less emotive drivers have greater importance.¹⁰⁵ Commensurate with this has been a greater security focus, a trend that intensified after 9/11 as Canada became involved in Afghanistan.¹⁰⁶ A more engaged line

101 C. Williams C. et al., 'Africa and the Global Carbon Cycle', *Carbon Balance and Management*, 7 March 2007, <http://www.cbjournal.com/content/2/1/3>.

102 See, for instance, Allan Gotlieb, 'Romanticism and Realism in Canada's Foreign Policy', Benefactors Lecture, C.D. Howe Institute, Toronto, 3 November 2004, http://www.cdhowe.org/pdf/benefactors_lecture_2004.pdf.

103 See, for instance, the Canadian International Development Agency's focus down to seven countries across Africa, <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/NAT-5208469-GYW>.

104 *Overcoming 40 Years of Failure: A New Roadmap for Sub-Saharan Africa*, The Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, February 2007, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/39/1/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-e/fore-e/rep-e/repafriFeb07-e.htm#RECOMMENDATIONS>. The principal recommendations of the report were not so different from those in this Chatham House report, but it was far more pessimistic about the prospects for much of Africa.

105 David Black, 'Out of Africa? The Harper Government's New Tilt in the Developing World', *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 15, Issue 2 (2009), pp. 41–56.

106 For a fuller discussion of Canada's declining Africa activism, see David Black, 'Canada, the G8, and Africa: The Rise and Decline of a Hegemonic Project?', paper delivered at a Chatham House conference on 'Africa International: Agency and Interdependency in a Changing World', 9 October 2009, [http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Black per cent20 per cent20Canada per cent20G8 per cent20Africa.pdf](http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Black%20per%20Canada%20G8%20Africa.pdf).

Table 2: Canada: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Canada	7,951.175	8,997.932	13,847.952	2,464.783	3,573.205	4,022.270
Africa excl. South Africa	7,372.615	8,264.418	12,975.328	1,672.832	2,452.145	3,147.439
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,389.341	1,853.873	2,121.689	2,933.724	3,691.726	5,439.702
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	810.781	1,120.359	1,249.065	2,141.773	2,570.666	4,564.871
South Africa	578.560	733.514	872.624	791.951	1,121.060	874.831

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 3: United States: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
US	18,997.000	23,658.000	28,626.000	83,841.000	95,228.000	117,289.000
Africa excl. SA	14,536.000	18,140.000	22,131.000	76,090.000	85,936.000	107,087.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	12,118.000	14,402.000	18,609.000	61,466.000	69,568.000	88,799.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	7,657.000	8,884.000	12,114.000	53,715.000	60,276.000	78,597.000
South Africa	4,461.000	5,518.000	6,495.000	7,751.000	9,292.000	10,202.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

towards Africa has recently emerged again, seen particularly in the temporary provision of C\$2.6 billion to the African Development Bank.¹⁰⁷ Again, this is driven both by the desire to be seen as a serious global player in the run-up to Canada's G8 presidency, and by a belated realization that other countries may defeat its UN Security Council bid.¹⁰⁸

US interests

The inauguration of President Obama was accompanied by unrealistic expectations in some quarters that Africa would be prioritized in a way that it never had been before. Yet US policy in Africa has thus far stayed remarkably consistent with the longer-term trend. Historically the

United States rarely considered sub-Saharan Africa to be of great strategic or political significance to its national interests, even during the Cold War.¹⁰⁹

This began to change – moderately – from the mid-1990s. The first driver of change was the concerns over terrorism and the radicalization of young Muslims, particularly in the Sahel region and Eastern Africa. One of the earliest serious attacks on American interests by Al-Qaeda was against the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998; and the fear that Somalia is at risk of falling into the hands of anti-American extremists has driven US interest in that sub-region for some years. The establishment during 2008 of an Africa Command for the US military is partly tied

107 Sheldon Alberts, 'Harper pledges up to \$2.6 billion in lending to Africa', Canwest news Service, 24 September 2009, <http://www.canada.com/business/Harper+pledges+lending+Africa/2029924/story.html>.

108 It was previously assumed that Canada would have a turn on the UNSC roughly every decade, an important indicator of Canada's place in global affairs. Yet now this assumption is being threatened, and until mid-2009 both Germany and Portugal had courted support among UN member states more proactively. Meanwhile Canada appeared to some complacent, increasingly regionally rather than globally focused, and reliant on memories of past international activism. Stephen Edwards, 'Canadian seat on Security Council moves from remote to long-shot', *National Post*, 23 May 2009, <http://www.nationalpost.com/m/story.html?id=1624009>.

109 A significant exception was a period in the late 1970s when Angola became a principal arena of competition between the US and the Soviet Union.

to this. Energy security has been another driver of policy. As noted above, the United States depends on Africa for more of its oil imports (around 22 per cent) than on the Middle East (around 17 per cent).¹¹⁰

A third driver has been the need to win the votes of African countries in the UN, and to counter attempts by others to do so. In key decisions, such as sanctions on Iran or climate change, winning the votes of African countries is key. Other countries such as Iran and China have increased their public diplomacy efforts, leading the United States to do likewise.

The assumption that African countries are too poor to offer major commercial opportunities is still prevalent. American firms have been lagging far behind others in seeking new markets in Africa. In fact, US investment in Africa has remained almost static outside the energy sector. This lack of private-sector investment forestalls a compelling American response to concerns regarding Chinese investment motives and methods, because critics of such concerns simply point out that the United States is not commercially significant in African countries and therefore does not understand the realities of doing business there.¹¹¹ With significant exceptions, American culture and values have much resonance across many countries in Africa, and strong ties through private charitable and religious connections suggest the United States is forgoing significant opportunities for strategic engagement and influence by undervaluing the benefits of a stronger diplomatic relations.

Japanese interests

Of the G8 members, Japan has the fewest historical or cultural connections with Africa, yet it has three compelling interests in maintaining a close engagement.

First, Japan seeks a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, and has benefited from African support in the past, winning the Asian non-permanent Security Council seat in 1996 and securing the election of Shigeru Oda to the UN International Court of Justice.

Secondly, the support of African countries is essential to Japan's campaign to allow commercial whaling. Japan takes a specific approach to engagement with African development issues via the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), hosted every five years in Japan and drawing together leaders from most African states. As well as offering a distinct approach to development, the conference allows Japan to demonstrate global influence, and the process has taken on a new importance since China has initiated its own Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC – see below).

Thirdly, Japanese interest in Africa's raw materials is increasing, particularly for precious metals, oil and gas. As access to resources becomes a priority, Japan is also opening more embassies in Africa, starting with new ones in Mali and Botswana. Japan is highly dependent upon overseas supplies of raw materials, both for its own industries and for those industries that feed into the Japanese economy, and as Africa becomes a more important source, the stability of supplying countries becomes ever more important. At the same time, for a trading nation such as Japan, the security of shipping lanes is vital to its economic security and so piracy off East Africa and elsewhere is a key concern.¹¹²

British, French, German, Italian and EU interests

Of all G8 members, the four European countries have the most immediate and complex strategic interests in a deep and broad engagement with African countries. Proximity alone means that developments in Africa are likely to be felt first and most immediately in Europe.

This has been partially recognized at both national and EU levels. The EU, through the European Commission, is a strong funder of and partner with the African Union, in particular when it comes to the African Peace and Security Architecture that seeks to build up African capacity to respond to crises across the continent, but also across a wide range of other sectors from agriculture to

¹¹⁰ See note 85.

¹¹¹ For more on US interests in Africa, see Alex Vines and Tom Cargill, 'Sub-Saharan Africa: Providing Strategic Vision or Fire-fighting?', Chapter 3 in Robin Niblett (ed.), *America and a Changed World: A Question of Leadership* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs/Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 49–70.

¹¹² For a more in-depth description of Japanese interests in Africa, see Elizabeth Donnelly Japan African Engagement and TICAD IV: Can Japan Lead the Way on African Development?, Chatham House Programme Paper 08/01, July 2008, http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/11809_ticad_4_report_final-110708.pdf.

Table 4: Japan: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Japan	9,261.000	11,487.000	13,361.000	13,330.000	14,983.000	20,892.000
Africa excl. South Africa	5,194.000	6,869.000	8,729.000	6,635.000	7,240.000	11,920.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	7,164.000	8,642.000	9,460.000	12,460.000	13,322.000	17,782.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	3,097.000	4,024.000	4,828.000	5,765.000	5,579.000	8,810.000
South Africa	4,067.000	4,618.000	4,632.000	6,695.000	7,743.000	8,972.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 5: European Union: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
EU (27)	115,149.000	140,908.000	175,120.000	158,828.000	178,083.000	231,681.000
Africa excl. South Africa	90,137.000	112,822.000	145,224.000	135,213.000	149,378.000	198,807.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	62,490.000	75,444.000	89,579.000	67,198.000	79,074.000	100,766.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	37,478.000	47,358.000	59,683.000	43,583.000	50,369.000	67,892.000
South Africa	25,012.000	28,086.000	29,896.000	23,615.000	28,705.000	32,874.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

customs reform. Indeed Africa has become something of a test-bed for a number of European initiatives, including its planned External Action Service, and this has led to some criticism that Africa has become a 'guinea pig' for emerging European foreign policy.¹¹³

On the issue of climate change, European countries, particularly the UK and Germany, have been prominent in recognizing the central role African rainforests play in balancing the global climate, and the EU has been particularly active in such issues.

Taken as a whole, the EU is the largest trading and development partner of Africa, yet the effectiveness of this partnership is greatly undermined by the complexity and lack of focus inherent when so many sovereign states and related bodies interact on both sides.¹¹⁴ A prime example

of this is the disconnect between the focus of individual members states on encouraging greater and more rational economic integration within Africa and the manner in which the European Commission has carried out European Partnership Agreements, which have, by accident or design, undermined African regional integration efforts.¹¹⁵

European members of the G8 have complex, long and often difficult historical relations with many parts of Africa, in addition to strong family and social connections. Controlled immigration is an obvious and serious policy challenge that flows from this, but increasingly important are the cultural and political linkages, as large diaspora communities in Europe become ever more influential in the domestic politics of various African states, such as Somalia and Nigeria, as well as in their 'host' societies.

113 A. Vines, 'Rhetoric from Brussels and Reality from the Ground: the EU and Security in Africa', paper presented at conference on 'The European Union Facing External Challenges', Pembroke College, Cambridge, 24 October 2009.

114 On the considerable challenges to aid coherence see Gwenaëlle Corre, 'Whither EC Aid?', Compendium coordinated by ECDPM and ActionAid, 2009.

115 There is an extensive literature on this but see, for instance, Adrian Flint, 'The End of a "Special Relationship"? The New EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 36, No. 119, March 2009, pp. 79–92.

One of the most negative impacts of this is the observed link to terrorism and related crimes, but far less understood are the more positive aspects relating to the mitigation of such threats, stemming from the deep cultural links between communities.

Contrary to the assumptions of many, trade with African countries has been a minor concern for most European countries in recent years. Yet being so deeply involved in development efforts across the continent, and given the key role trade has in promoting development, European countries probably have most to gain from deeper trade ties with Africa. They also have far more to lose should Africa's other emerging partners benefit from the trade links for which European development efforts have provided the basis.

The United Kingdom

The role of African relationships, support and advocacy in maintaining the UK's claim to be a global player has been particularly pronounced in recent years. Vocal support for development efforts in Africa has also been important domestically, given the popular perception that the UK has a moral obligation to engage with Africa. This clearly articulates itself in humanitarian and development issues, but also politically in the case of some countries such as Zimbabwe.

Yet the United Kingdom probably finds it harder than any other country to identify or admit to strategic self-interest in Africa. This underscores the symbolic role Africa policy has come to fill in the country's self-perception as a 'moral' power willing to do good for the sake of it in an arena where there is limited party political or media dissent.¹¹⁶

Having said this, there are clear UK strategic interests, even if their expression remains something of a taboo. The most obvious areas are immigration, crime and counter-terrorism – particularly in relation to those countries from which the UK already has a large immigrant (and in some

cases, until recently, also emigrant) population such as Nigeria, Somalia and Zimbabwe. The case of Zimbabwe is one where ideological and domestic pressures interact. From a purely strategic point of view, what happens there is of limited interest to the United Kingdom, yet domestic pressure forces engagement.

The lack of a proactive approach to strategic opportunities in Africa has meant that the UK has been least active among the major powers in building and securing political coalitions and business engagements in the continent.¹¹⁷ Scandals surrounding some of those business engagements, such as around BAE's deals in South Africa and Tanzania, have further tarnished the reputation of UK business engagement with African states. In this sense, there is a considerable opportunity cost for the UK from failing to advance and benefit from the significant advantages it enjoys in its African relationships.

“Being so deeply involved in development efforts across the continent, and given the key role trade has in promoting development, European countries probably have most to gain from deeper trade ties with Africa”

France

Like the UK, France has a complex historical and emotional relationship with African states. This hampers a modern, rational and proactive approach to strategic opportunities and threats in Africa. As for the UK, this makes it hard for France to capitalize on the strong connections that exist. Unlike the UK, however, France has had until

¹¹⁶ For a fascinating discussion of this see Julia Gallagher, 'Britain "Doing Good" in Africa: What Opportunities for African Agency?', paper presented at Chatham House conference on 'Africa International: Agency and Interdependency in a Changing World', 9 October 2009, http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/research/africa/research_events/view/-/id/1271/.

¹¹⁷ This neglect mirrors, and of course overlaps with, the benign but strange neglect of the Commonwealth, with all the considerable but gradually fading diplomatic opportunities that it entails.

Table 6: United Kingdom: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
UK	11,337.000	12,830.000	15,609.000	18,068.000	18,868.000	21,054.000
Africa excl. South Africa	7,392.000	8,538.000	10,889.000	10,755.000	10,312.000	11,746.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	8,800.000	9,789.000	11,609.000	12,961.000	13,717.000	15,070.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	4,855.000	5,497.000	6,889.000	5,648.000	5,161.000	5,762.000
South Africa	3,945.000	4,292.000	4,720.000	7,313.000	8,556.000	9,308.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 7: France: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
France	26,344.000	30,393.000	36,878.000	24,763.000	28,198.000	38,354.000
Africa excl. South Africa	24,240.000	28,177.000	34,482.000	23,767.000	26,957.000	36,945.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	11,341.000	13,184.000	15,278.000	9,195.000	11,443.000	15,640.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	9,237.000	10,968.000	12,882.000	8,199.000	10,202.000	14,231.000
South Africa	2,104.000	2,216.000	2,396.000	996.000	1,241.000	1,409.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

recently (and still has to some extent) complex political links with elites in its former colonies.¹¹⁸ Scandals and court cases around these links have made it difficult or impossible for French leaders to use Africa as an arena for publicly ‘doing good’ in the same way that British leaders have done.

In addition, the value of French exports to Africa is roughly twice that of exports from the United Kingdom (€21 billion compared to €9 billion). France, Africa’s third largest trade partner, actually runs a trade surplus with the continent of over €1 billion.¹¹⁹ Much of this is with North Africa, and this geographical proximity shapes the dynamics of France’s relationship with Africa, which is supported by the proactive links between the French state and French businesses. France’s reliance on uranium from Niger to supply its large nuclear power programme

cements a number of strategic relationships.¹²⁰ This is not to say that France does not have a strong developmental focus in its African engagements, only that they are not to the exclusion of other interests, as they tend to be in the British case. Also in common with the UK, France takes an active interest in Africa to bolster its position on the UN Security Council, and there are direct links through immigration and other domestic issues.

Germany

Germany has for many years had far less cultural or political engagement with African states than the United Kingdom, France or Italy, and a greater emphasis on purely developmental and economic links. This has changed as Germany has sought a higher international cultural profile more generally and has recognized the importance

118 See Sylvain Touati, ‘French Foreign Policy in Africa: Between Pré Carré and Multilateralism’, Africa Programme Working Paper, February 2007, <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/-/id/435/>.

119 2006 figures. See Eurostat figures, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2008/february/tradoc_138001.pdf.

120 Other countries will increasingly follow suit if nuclear power becomes more popular again.

Table 8: Germany: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Germany	20,191.000	23,941.000	28,615.000	19,077.000	20,497.000	27,635.000
Africa excl. South Africa	11,377.000	14,225.000	18,095.000	14,738.000	15,508.000	21,438.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	13,014.000	15,055.000	16,750.000	8,896.000	10,418.000	12,896.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	4,200.000	5,339.000	6,230.000	4,557.000	5,429.000	6,699.000
South Africa	8,814.000	9,716.000	10,520.000	4,339.000	4,989.000	6,197.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

of greater diplomatic linkages in Africa as elsewhere. However, the lack of a more recent colonial legacy on a par with that of the United Kingdom and France means Germany finds itself both less encumbered by the kind of complex emotional relationships from which the former principal colonial powers suffer in their engagement, but it is also sometimes disadvantaged by the lack of a common language or shared cultural outlook and history. In this context it is perhaps unsurprising that Germany tends to pursue many of its broader developmental goals through the EU. It is a strong supporter of the EU–Africa Action Plan, has invested heavily in the Africa Peer Review Mechanism and helped fund the headquarters of the African Union Peace and Security Council. This is also in support of Germany’s broader aims, such as its desire for a permanent UN Security Council seat and an elected seat in 2011/12 (competing with Canada).

Germany has significant bilateral interests in Africa too. With 33 embassies and numerous other development, cultural and financial offices across sub-Saharan Africa, it has a large diplomatic presence. Bilateral links are important: in the last two years senior German political figures have visited more than 20 African countries.¹²¹ Business is increasingly recognized as being important. Germany was the largest exporter by value of conventional weaponry to Africa between 2003 and 2006 with sales worth \$900 million, ahead of Russia and China.¹²² Overall trade stood at €33

billion in 2008, with some 561 German companies investing around €6 billion. Germany is particularly concerned to secure its energy supplies, but there is increased recognition of the commercial opportunities in countries such as Angola; significantly, President Eduardo Dos Santos paid a high-profile visit to Germany at the start of 2009.

Italy

Immigration is the most obvious strategic interest for Italy in its relations with Africa, but business is an increasingly important driver of policy. Italy is the continent’s fourth largest trade partner – ahead of Germany, India and the UK.¹²³ Regionally, it has a strong business and political focus on North Africa, but historical ties mean the Horn of Africa continues to be of strategic interest, and the giants of South Africa and Nigeria are of increasing importance. The cutting of Italy’s aid budget by over 50 per cent in mid-2009 during the year of its G8 presidency underscores the ambiguity of its self-perceived role as a global player. However, it has played a significant role in some areas, for example in G8 pledges on peace and security and through its training (with US support) of African police forces. Many of Italy’s Africa policies are subsumed within the EU’s policies – particularly with regard to peace and security issues. Italy’s bilateral engagements with Africa may fall somewhere between the historically encumbered relations of other G8 partners and the more

121 President Horst Köhler has visited Sierra Leone, Benin, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Madagascar, Mozambique, Botswana, Rwanda and Uganda. Chancellor Angela Merkel has been to Ethiopia, South Africa and Liberia. Foreign ministers held talks in Togo, Burkina Faso, Ghana and Nigeria, and recently visited Tanzania and South Africa.

122 Richard F. Grimmet, *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations 1999–2006* (New York: Nova Publishers, 2008).

123 Simon Freemantle and Jeremy Stevens, ‘BRIC and Africa: tectonic shifts tie BRIC and Africa’s economic destinies’, Standard Bank, 14 October 2009, <http://ws9.standardbank.co.za/sbrp/researchAuthor.do>.

Table 9: Italy: exports to/imports from Africa (\$ m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Italy	15,872.000	20,046.000	26,445.000	39,399.000	43,350.000	56,471.000
Africa excl. South Africa	13,875.000	17,929.000	24,325.000	36,512.000	39,609.000	52,569.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	5,511.000	6,352.000	7,019.000	7,414.000	9,067.000	10,494.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	3,514.000	4,235.000	4,899.000	4,527.000	5,326.000	6,592.000
South Africa	1,997.000	2,117.000	2,120.000	2,887.000	3,741.000	3,902.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 10: Russia: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Russia	3,157.000	5,295.000	6,798.000	1,142.000	1,572.000	2,183.000
Africa excl. South Africa	3,136.000	5,281.000	6,709.000	983.000	1,301.000	1,793.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	658.000	705.000	1,247.000	769.000	1,028.000	1,259.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	637.000	691.000	1,158.000	610.000	757.000	869.000
South Africa	21.000	14.000	89.000	159.000	271.000	390.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

pragmatic approaches of emerging powers such as Turkey. This certainly manifested itself at the 2009 G8 summit in L'Aquila, where Italy used its opportunity, as host country, to conduct meetings related largely to bilateral and business issues with a number of African countries.¹²⁴

Russia

Russia continues to have emotional and historical ties with many African countries, and still carries some nostalgic influence from the Cold War era, yet of all G8 countries it has the fewest current strategic interests across the continent. This is likely to change as its commercial interests are expanding. Russia began to participate in debt relief and other development assistance again after President Vladimir Putin came to office in 2000. By 2006 it was contributing to eight UN peacekeeping operations across Africa and senior Russian officials have undertaken more diplomatic and commercial engagements in recent years, including a visit by President Putin immediately after hosting the G8

summit in 2006. President Dmitry Medvedev's tour of four African states in 2009 continued this trend.

From a practical point of view, gaining support in the UN and other multilateral forums is the most important reason for increased diplomatic engagement. Russia needs to bolster its position on the Security Council, and also to ensure support for a number of positions it takes that are often opposed by other members, particularly over the use of sanctions and the status of territories on its periphery or in its perceived area of interest (e.g. South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Kosovo). In all of these activities, Russia also seeks to build support and recognition for its role as a great power. In this sense G8 membership both supports and is supported by its desire to be seen as a proactive and friendly power by African states. Yet negative publicity resulting from African media reports about the role of Russian arms sales in fuelling conflict in Darfur and elsewhere, and the regular attacks on African residents in Russia, detract from achieving this broader aim.

124 Lia Quartapelle, 'Italy and Africa in 2009: A Tale of Too Many Stories?', ISPI Policy Brief No.167, December 2009, http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/PB_167_2009.pdf.

Even in its commercial activities in Africa, politics as much as economics appear to be influential. One example of this is the agreements made between Gazprom and Nigeria's state-owned National Petroleum Corporation relating to gas and the possibility of supplying Europe via a trans-Saharan gas pipeline. Such a pipeline has been considered and rejected as far too ambitious by a number of Western multinationals; yet were it to succeed, it would provide Russia with control over a major source of supply into Europe. Sometimes economics trump politics, however, as in the activities of the giant aluminium producer Rusal in Guinea, where political support appears to follow more commercial considerations.

BRIC and G20 interests in Africa

Despite the disbanding of the O5, its former members are prominent within the G20. In particular, the African engagement of three of the so-called BRIC countries¹²⁵ offers some useful comparisons with the policies of G8 members. The India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA) Trilateral Forum, which held its fourth summit alongside that of the BRICs in Brasilia in April 2010, is also increasingly prominent as a vehicle for cooperation among emerging powers.

Brazil

Until now, Brazil's Africa engagement has received far less attention than that of either India or China. However, this is set to change as Brazil's visibility in commercial and diplomatic affairs has also increased dramatically in recent years. This has been a far more strategic decision than in the case of either China or India, and the result of a conscious policy on the part of President Lula da Silva since his election in 2003.¹²⁶ Since then he has visited 20 African states in over eight visits – more than any other serving head of state from outside the continent.

Brazil's interests in expanding these relationships are largely about trade; levels increased from \$700 million in 1990 to an astounding \$26.3 billion in 2008.¹²⁷ Much of this growth is with a few key countries – Angola, Libya, Nigeria and South Africa – and oil makes up a large proportion. Nigeria supplied 4.5 per cent of Brazil's total oil imports in 2008. Energy security is an important consideration for Brazil. Yet the increase in the number of embassies Brazil has opened across the continent (15 since 2003) points to the importance that it attaches to diplomatic engagement with Africa. The establishment of IBSA is aimed at building alternative diplomatic and economic alliances.¹²⁸ Again, this is about expanding Brazil's capacity to build support from and alliances with African countries in an increasingly complex multipolar political environment, and it has a particular eye on reform of the United Nations Security Council.¹²⁹

India

International policy interest in India has probably been second only to that in China over recent years. Traditionally India saw its interests and engagement in Africa in largely Commonwealth terms, but this is swiftly changing, as shown by the progress of IBSA. India has massively ramped up its engagement with Africa over the past decade. Access to oil and natural resources is crucial for India: 12 per cent of its oil comes from Africa, accounting for 70 per cent of the continent's exports to India. Yet Africa is also becoming a significant destination for Indian goods; the value of this trade has increased from \$308 million in 1990 to \$13.8 billion in 2008 and is set to grow further. While this trade was initially in low-value items, in recent years there has been increased diversification into higher-value goods and services. Overall trade has grown at 23 per cent a year since 2000,¹³⁰ making India Africa's fifth largest trading partner, ahead of the United Kingdom.

125 The idea of the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China) originated in a Goldman Sachs report of 2001, *Building Better Economic BRICs*, <http://www2.goldmansachs.com/ideas/brics/building-better.html>. Since then the idea has been taken up by the countries concerned, and the first BRIC summit was held in Russia in 2008, with another in Rio de Janeiro in April 2010. A BRIC think tank, consisting of prominent members of each country's leading research institutes, met alongside these summits, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6951259.html>.

126 See President Lula da Silva's speech accepting the Chatham House Prize, http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/15197_051109chp_lula.pdf

127 Freemantle and Stevens, 'BRIC and Africa'.

128 Both Brazil and India, and even possibly South Africa, may be on the UNSC in 2011.

129 Brasilia Declaration, 4th Summit of IBSA, 15 April 2010, http://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=102&Itemid=46.

130 Freemantle and Stevens, 'BRIC and Africa'.

Table 11: Brazil: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Brazil	7,487.762	8,343.078	9,415.402	9,161.064	11,365.292	20,666.912
Africa excl. South Africa	6,028.432	6,585.218	7,728.852	8,682.721	10,790.751	19,616.382
Sub-Saharan Africa	4,913.791	5,757.481	6,470.127	6,048.578	8,131.391	13,362.391
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	3,454.461	3,999.621	4,783.577	5,570.235	7,556.850	12,311.861
South Africa	1,459.330	1,757.860	1,686.550	478.343	574.541	1,050.530

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 12: India: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
India	8,572.187	10,709.349	12,933.699	3,216.791	4,252.772	5,704.034
Africa excl. South Africa	6,985.187	8,933.349	10,630.699	2,355.791	2,766.772	3,208.034
Sub-Saharan Africa	7,098.000	8,855.000	10,742.000	2,280.000	3,092.000	4,372.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	5,511.000	7,079.000	8,439.000	1,419.000	1,606.000	1,876.000
South Africa	1,587.000	1,776.000	2,303.000	861.000	1,486.000	2,496.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Yet India has made much less of a concerted diplomatic approach than other BRIC countries; its efforts have focused on a few countries such as Egypt, Nigeria and particularly South Africa. The exception has been engagement with Africa's Indian Ocean Rim countries, given India's particular concern at growing Chinese influence in a region it considers an important part of its sphere of influence.¹³¹ India's role in G4 negotiations over UN Security Council reform also plays a role, and it begins a two-year term as elected Security Council member from 2011. Elsewhere, India has allowed its companies to take a lead in promoting engagement, driven in the case of East and especially South Africa by an active and long-standing Indian diaspora. West Africa also seen a growth in Indian interest in recent years.¹³² The Indian govern-

ment has not adopted a totally hands-off policy, however, and it has blocked business deals in response to concerns about due diligence.

China

There is huge interest in China's Africa involvement – probably disproportionately large outside China compared to within it. Africa is still of relatively little strategic interest to Beijing. It is perhaps a mark of how complacent and detached many of Africa's traditional partners had become that China's renewed Africa engagement caused so much alarm and made so much of an impact. It is worth remembering that China's investment into South Korea alone – roughly \$100 billion – is equal to all its investments across Africa combined.

131 A. Vines, 'India's Strategy in Africa: Looking Beyond the India-Africa Summit', *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, SAIIA, 2009.

132 Sushant K. Singh, 'India and West Africa: A Burgeoning Relationship', Chatham House Briefing Paper, April 2007, <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/research/africa/papers/view/-/id/467/>.

Table 13: China: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
China	26,604.000	37,160.000	49791	28,766.000	36,229.000	56,818.000
Africa excl. South Africa	20,835.000	29,731.000	40,935.000	24,671.000	29,621.000	49,115.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	19,045.000	26,510.000	35,823.000	26,305.000	32,867.000	51,817.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	13,276.000	19,081.000	26,967.000	22,210.000	26,259.000	44,114.000
South Africa	5,769.000	7,429.000	8,856.000	4,095.000	6,608.000	7,703.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 14: Argentina: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Argentina	2,931.784	3,965.211	4,549.878	238.246	271.604	330.862
Africa excl. South Africa	2,015.516	2,965.827	3,537.040	119.497	140.162	162.895
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,621.268	1,980.384	2,175.838	125.749	138.442	174.967
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	705.000	981.000	1,163.000	7.000	7.000	7.000
South Africa	916.268	999.384	1,012.838	118.749	131.442	167.967

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Having said this, China has clearly rapidly increased its engagement with nearly every African state since the beginning of the century and is now the continent's second largest trading partner after the US. China is keen to emphasize a strong commitment to equality and mutual trust, hosting a Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) which holds leaders' summits every three years.¹³³ China's desire to gain access to natural resources is well known, but almost equally important is the desire to tap Africa's billion-strong markets, the majority of which are consumers of cheap Chinese products – from buckets to computers.

At the same time, fears of an organized diplomatic and commercial Africa strategy in Beijing are overblown. Chinese regions, sectors and industries all have distinct and often competing interests. All are engaged in a multiplicity of deals with private companies and governments

across Africa. As a consequence, China's desire to promote a strategy of non-interference has quickly unravelled, and there is an increased (though not yet entrenched) realization that political engagement is an important guarantor of sound business deals and the stability they need.

In this way, China is increasingly portraying itself not as a new model of engagement, but as simply another country, albeit with less history of exploitation than Western countries. The inconsistencies in this approach are becoming ever clearer, not least in China's emerging role as a *de facto* alternative for developing countries, particularly in Africa, to engagement with international financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. China's emphasis on development is firmly anchored in domestic, not international, poverty alleviation.

One area where there is clear strategic vision, shared by a growing number of international actors, is on the

¹³³ For a well-informed Chinese perspective on what the latest FOCAC meeting signified, see Liu Haifang, 'A deep reading of the Fourth FOCAC Action Plan', *Pambazuka News*, 17 December 2009, Issue 462, http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/61089.

Table 15: Australia: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Australia	2,989.869	3,355.233	3,696.324	1,965.703	1,678.698	2,136.396
Africa excl. South Africa	1,246.122	1,247.076	1,638.469	662.432	428.196	647.392
Sub-Saharan Africa	2,561.747	2,953.158	3,244.855	1,512.271	1,476.502	1,634.004
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	818.000	845.000	1,187.000	209.000	226.000	145.000
South Africa	1,743.747	2,108.158	2,057.855	1,303.271	1,250.502	1,489.004

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

importance of gaining the support of African states for Chinese positions in a number of international forums, but particularly the UN. A huge amount of effort has gone into this; there have been 18 high-level visits to 38 countries since 2000.

Argentina

With 17 embassies across Africa, Argentina has a surprisingly large footprint on the continent. In recent years relations have been largely framed through Africa–South America summits, the first of which was held in 2006 in Nigeria, and the second in 2009 in Venezuela.¹³⁴ That same year the first joint ministerial conference on energy also took place in Ethiopia. Argentina's strongest bilateral relationship on the continent is with South Africa, and in 2005 the two countries established a Binational Commission that last met at the end of 2008. The main concrete area of cooperation that has emerged so far has been the sharing of nuclear technology, though cooperation on WTO and Antarctic Treaty negotiations is also an aim. A free trade zone, particularly in agricultural products, between South Africa, Argentina and Brazil has also been mooted.

Australia

Australia's principal interest in Africa is via its extractive industry links. Several large mining companies with extensive African holdings, such as BHP Billiton, operate out of Australia. With just eight embassies and high commissions in Africa, historically there has been

limited aid from Australia to the continent, but in 2009 the Australian government announced its intention to increase its commercial, diplomatic and development assistance links. Aid is forecast to rise by 40 per cent to an estimated A\$165.2 million in 2009/10. An Australia–Africa Partnerships Facility is part of this push. This increasing focus on Africa focus is partly related to Australia's bid for an elected place on the UN Security Council in 2013–14. There is also an increasing immigration and diaspora dimension to its Africa policy, with particular attention focused on the growing numbers of immigrants from countries including Somalia, and a corresponding counterterrorist element in Australian policy interest.¹³⁵ Zimbabweans have also settled there, but Australia's interest in Zimbabwe transcends this and is influenced by former Commonwealth links, as well as domestic media interest.

Indonesia

Indonesia's relations with Africa have been framed historically through the 1955 Bandung Asian–African conference that led to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement. This was revived in 2005 when Indonesia organized a conference to roll out an Asian–African Strategic Partnership. In this sense Indonesia uses its relations with Africa as a tool to claim greater global relevance and project soft power. Although it has 12 embassies across Africa, Indonesia's strongest export links are with just three states, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa. Coordination between South Africa and Indonesia on a

¹³⁴ A number of issues, particularly around lack of Venezuelan consultation with African and South American countries, caused problems for this summit.

¹³⁵ Roger Donnelly and Benjamin Ford, 'Into Africa: How the Resource Boom is Making Sub-Saharan Africa More Important to Australia', Lowy Institute Paper 24, 2008.

Table 16: Indonesia: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Indonesia	1,972.000	2,494.000	3,260.000	1,182.000	2,307.000	2,243.000
Africa excl. South Africa	1,590.000	1,936.000	2,636.000	957.000	2,054.000	1,889.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,300.000	1,635.000	1,964.000	499.000	1,390.000	1,495.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	918.000	1,077.000	1,340.000	274.000	1,137.000	1,141.000
South Africa	382.000	558.000	624.000	225.000	253.000	354.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 17: Mexico: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Mexico	460.000	463.000	531.000	901.000	1,420.000	1,440.000
Africa excl. South Africa	295.000	310.000	531.000	601.000	1,124.000	1,440.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	271.000	227.000	43.000	519.000	770.000	522.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	106.000	74.000	43.000	219.000	474.000	522.000
South Africa	165.000	153.000	0.000	300.000	296.000	0.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

range of positions (climate change, Palestine, trade) has increased in recent years. There has also been a marked willingness to build relations with countries considered pariahs in the West, such as Eritrea and Zimbabwe.

Mexico

Mexico's basic international strategy is to gain higher visibility in international forums, and relations with Africa offer a key route to this. In pursuit of this Mexico reopened its embassy in Nigeria in 2009, bringing its total of embassies in Africa to eight, and it is planning to open one in Angola. In parallel with this Mexico took on permanent observer status in ECOWAS and has participated as an observer at recent AU summits. Mexico is also particularly interested in building support from African states for a number of its international positions, for instance on global trade talks and on reform of the UN.

South Korea

South Korea's development assistance is of significant symbolic value in its self-perception as a newly developed nation taking on the responsibilities that entails.¹³⁶ Central to developing this perception was the establishment of the South Korea–Africa Forum, which held its first meeting in 2006 and the second in 2009, and which the AU regards as a model for cooperation. South Korea's chairing of the G20 in 2010, its application to join the OECD's Development Assistance Committee and the president's planned tour of Africa in 2010, as well as its hosting of the next high-level forum on aid effectiveness in 2011, must all be seen in this context. Yet since 2004 South Korean commercial and private-sector interests have also expanded across Africa after a long period of decline, and the private sector is seen as a key driver of development.¹³⁷ Currently Nigeria and South Africa are the principal trading partners, but

¹³⁶ While the large majority of South Korea's development assistance goes to Southeast Asia, its role in Africa is symbolically important.

¹³⁷ Garth Shelton, 'Korea & South Africa: Building a Strategic Relationship', Institute for Global Dialogue, Occasional Paper No. 61, July 2009, http://www.igd.org.za/index.php?option=com_remository&Itemid=69&func=selectcat&cat=2.

Table 18: South Korea: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
South Korea	9,924.000	11,245.000	13,265.000	5,740.000	6,052.000	6,593.000
Africa excl. South Africa	8,130.000	9,492.000	11,868.000	4,355.000	4,286.000	4,433.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	7,944.000	8,416.000	9,505.000	4,609.000	4,655.000	4,174.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	6,150.000	6,663.000	8,108.000	3,224.000	2,889.000	2,014.000
South Africa	1,794.000	1,753.000	1,397.000	1,385.000	1,766.000	2,160.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 19: Saudi Arabia: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Saudi Arabia	10,068.000	10,906.000	15,300.000	1,854.000	2,392.000	2,944.000
Africa excl. South Africa	6,470.000	7,282.000	9,663.000	1,529.000	2,022.000	2,580.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	6,522.000	6,630.000	9,680.000	682.000	875.000	1,028.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	2,924.000	3,006.000	4,043.000	357.000	505.000	664.000
South Africa	3,598.000	3,624.000	5,637.000	325.000	370.000	364.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

there are also high levels of Korean FDI in Sudan and Egypt. The Korea National Oil Company (KNOC) is particularly interested in securing acreage in Africa. In this sense South Korea plays a strategic bridging role between Africa's traditional and emerging partners in the debate over the changing nature of development assistance.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia has 26 embassies and consulates across Africa, and is active in the disbursement of development assistance, over \$2 billion annually, particularly in those African countries with large Muslim populations. Saudi Arabia's engagement with Africa also has a strong counter-terrorism element and is intended to some extent to undermine the efforts of other countries, such as Iran, that are seeking to build support across Africa. However, Saudi-funded madrassas have been criticized for promoting intolerance. Saudi Arabia also has growing industrial and commercial interests in Africa, particularly in agriculture,

where several projects of varying degrees of openness are aimed at both transferring technology and acquiring access to land.

South Africa

Given its central role within the political and commercial life of the continent, South Africa undeniably has the greatest and most immediate interest of any G20 country in ensuring peace, stability and growth throughout Africa. It also perceives itself not simply, or perhaps even primarily, as an African regional power, but as a global player, with a seat on the G20, and seeking a seat on the UN Security Council. At the same time, South Africa has a complex history as the continent's largest and most sophisticated economy by far, but also as the most recent member of many of its principal multilateral forums (after decades of apartheid isolation). South Africa's strategic interests therefore divide into two often competing strands. On the one hand it needs to ensure continued domestic investment

Table 20: South Africa: exports to/imports from rest of Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
South Africa	7,668.000	9,472.000	12,538.000	4,725.000	5,775.000	7,504.000
Rest of Africa excl. SA	7,668.000	9,472.000	12,538.000	4,333.000	5,775.000	7,040.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	7,289.000	9,028.000	12,006.000	4,253.000	5,666.000	7,286.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	7,289.000	9,028.000	12,006.000	3,861.000	5,666.000	6,822.000
South Africa	0.000	0.000	0.000	392.000*	0.000	464.000*

* The figures for South African imports from South Africa for 2006 (\$392 million) and 2008 (\$464 million) refer to re-imports, which are 'goods imported to the same state as previously exported'. This includes raw materials which are exported from South Africa for processing, and then re-imported.

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

Table 21: Turkey: exports to/imports from Africa (\$m)

	Exports			Imports		
	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
Turkey	4,565.000	5,976.000	9,058.000	7,404.000	6,782.000	7,771.000
Africa excl. South Africa	3,966.000	5,322.000	7,820.000	5,611.000	4,610.000	6,268.000
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,469.000	1,946.000	3,209.000	2,526.000	3,167.000	2,503.000
Sub-Saharan Africa excl. South Africa	870.000	1,292.000	1,971.000	733.000	995.000	1,000.000
South Africa	599.000	654.000	1,238.000	1,793.000	2,172.000	1,503.000

Source: UNCTAD Handbook of Statistics 2009, <http://stats.unctad.org/Handbook/TableViewer/dimView.aspx>

and economic stability and growth, which requires it to align and engage with the prevailing global economic order to promote investor confidence. From this point of view it also has a strong interest in an interventionist approach to continental politics to reduce conflict and resolve disputes. On the other hand, however, it needs to be seen to be supportive of other African governments that have difficult relations with G8 countries in particular. It needs to demonstrate solidarity with other African states to compensate both for its years of racist government and for its greater economic size.

This second driver will gradually weaken (though not disappear) as apartheid fades beyond living memory. South Africa is likely to retain a certain moral dimension in its perceived strategic interests across Africa, but business needs and the need to resolve disputes that have

a direct link to domestic concerns are likely to increase. Membership of multilateral forums such as IBSA, the application to join the BRICs and indeed the BRIC hybrid BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) that coalesced around the Copenhagen climate change talks in December 2009 are all important. South Africa was also influential in initiating the G20 in the late 1990s.¹³⁸ Since then, however, domestic concerns and capacity overstretch have tested South Africa's engagement with the G20 process.

Direct threats resulting from climate change are likely to become more serious as migration patterns shift southward and agricultural production is threatened. Yet the opportunities from economic growth in some African countries will also increase the incentives to support stability and good governance. Improving the regional and continental

138 For a brief discussion of the politics of these overlapping groups, see Siddharth Varadarajan, 'From IBSA to CHIBSA? BRIC to BRICS? Not yet', *The Hindu*, 17 April 2010, <http://www.thehindu.com/2010/04/17/stories/2010041754991400.htm>.

business environment, and benefiting from South African investments in the near abroad, may be one of the few ways the country can deliver on the ambitious growth and employment targets needed to ensure social stability at home.

‘Many G8 countries are still hamstrung by an approach to Africa that treats it as a single undifferentiated space through a set of perceptions overloaded with humanitarian concerns’

Turkey

Turkey aims to increase the number of its embassies in Africa from 13 to 27 and to increase trade with the region from \$16 billion in 2008 to \$30 billion by the end of 2010. Since 2003 the Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TIKA) has expanded its operations, which are particularly focused around Ethiopia, Sudan and Senegal. TIKA's work has a strong emphasis on agriculture, targeting 13 countries in East and West Africa. Turkey took on observer status at the AU in 2005, declaring it a 'Year of Africa,' and hosted a Turkey–Africa Cooperation summit in 2008. In that same year Turkey became a non-regional member of the African Development Bank. In 2009 Turkish President Abdullah Gül made the first visit by a Turkish head of state to sub-Saharan Africa (to Kenya and Tanzania), and in 2010 there were plans for a further tour, to Central Africa.

Business interests and the desire to project influence in the UN and other forums are behind this renewed Turkish interest. Turkey promised support for Africa positions if it received support from Africa for its 2009–10 UN Security Council bid. In common with other countries seeking to increase their international profile and influence, it

sees support from African states as a stepping stone towards gaining access to other international forums. A lack of information and cultural familiarity is one of the chief obstacles to this; hence the ramping up of Turkish diplomatic, trade and development initiatives across the continent.¹³⁹

Conclusion

A fundamental change has occurred across much of Africa over the past 15 years. Governance, stability and the business climate have improved markedly in many parts of the continent, albeit from incredibly low levels in the early 1990s. The causes of this improvement can be debated, but if, as appears increasingly likely, a significant number of countries in Africa can rebound strongly from the global financial crisis, then the post-G8 dispensation in Africa will be very different. Aid will remain important to many countries, but increasing numbers of external partners are looking for commercial opportunities in a continent of over one billion people and with significant resources.

Countries that are seeking to enhance their diplomatic and economic engagement must recognize that this is a long-term project, but that the rewards should be mutually beneficial and reinforcing. However, many G8 countries are still hamstrung by an approach to Africa that treats it as a single undifferentiated space through a set of perceptions overloaded with humanitarian concerns. A set of real but partial fears fuelled by negative perceptions of Africa prevents a more sophisticated, proactive approach to changing realities. Such perceptions almost wholly cancel out the advantages that countries such as the United Kingdom should enjoy from shared language, history and culture. Yet these advantages are often treated with some complacency. This attitude is changing, but change is still at an early stage in most G8 countries.

Emerging and re-emerging powers such as Brazil and China are less hampered by these perceptions, and are engaging in a generally mutually beneficial set of

139 Mehmet Özkan (2008), 'Turkey Discovers Africa: Implications and Prospects', *SETA Policy Brief No. 22*, Seta Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research.

Box 7: African leadership in international forums

Whether it is in the G8, G20 or other forums, there is considerable ambiguity over who speaks for Africa and to what extent it is possible and desirable to present a common African position. As indicated above, in the early days of NEPAD a few self-selecting African leaders articulated a strategy for the continent. Indeed there was much criticism that three principal champions of NEPAD – South Africa, Nigeria and Egypt – were also the three largest recipients of FDI in Africa, and therefore had the greatest interest in African states merely aligning themselves with an economic plan that disproportionately benefited these three.^a Similar criticism has been levelled at the African Development Bank, given its non-African members.^b Other prominent non-governmental vehicles for African aspirations, such as the Africa Progress Panel, are either based outside Africa or funded by donors (or both). The African Monitor, established in 2005 by Archbishop Njongo Ndungane, the former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, is perhaps the nearest thing there is to a truly African civil society voice. Its governance (with the exception of Mary Robinson) is entirely African, and it is based in Cape Town. Yet its funding is almost entirely non-African.^c The Coalition for Dialogue on Africa, launched in 2009, is still in its infancy, but its backing from UNECA offers it some independence from donors.^d The Africa Forum, composed of former African leaders, may prove a useful independently funded voice, but is still in its early stages of formation.

Arguably the AU remains the most constitutionally sound articulation of continent-wide positions, yet its capacity is limited, and it receives significant external funding. The same is true for the vast majority of African civil society organizations. The need for a strong and wholly legitimate continent-wide representative voice in international negotiations should not be assumed, and indeed regional economic institutions such as the Southern African Development Community and the East African Community, and financial groupings such as the C10 are likely to gain increasingly important international profiles. However, on some issues, such as climate change, a common position is important, and in such situations, while external organizations and campaign groups have an important role to play, ensuring a genuine commitment and sense of African ownership is crucial. In this context, greater support to allow the AU to improve its capacity to fully represent, articulate and develop continental positions is required.

a See, for instance, Ian Taylor, 'The New Partnership for Africa's Development and the Global Political Economy' (note 25 above).

b This is one reason why the AU is seeking to establish an African Investment Bank, free of non-African influence.

c Funders for 2008/09 were the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Bread for the World, ONE (previously the DATA Foundation), the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA (DFMS of PECUSA), the Millennium Campaign Africa, the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, Nashua, Oxfam Great Britain, the Trinity Grants Programme, TrustAfrica and the Southern Africa Trust. All of these are Western-based, or African arms of Western-based funders. This is not to criticize the important work that the African Monitor undertakes, but it does point to a potential conflict which is further animated by its universality.

See [http://www.africanmonitor.org/Site/publications/Final per cent20AM per cent20Annual per cent20Report per cent20Aug26082009.pdf](http://www.africanmonitor.org/Site/publications/Final%20Annual%20Report%20Aug26082009.pdf).

d <http://www.uneca.org/coda/index.htm>.

relationships. This is not to idealize them. There are problems and significant hurdles to overcome, and in many cases the rhetoric of 'win-win' and 'South-South cooperation' hides a more brutal reality reminiscent of the worst cases of Western corporate exploitation. However, these relationships do not suffer from the complacency and negativism that characterize the strategic assessments of many G8 countries.

Africa, as a continent with over 25 per cent of the world's countries, is becoming increasingly assertive in international forums and aware of its influence. Emerging powers seeking to engage are aware of this. Yet engagement by external powers does not have to be a zero-sum game. Bringing African states more fully into international economic and political life should deliver significant benefits both inside and outside Africa. It would

also remove a dangerously uncertain set of liabilities – including the costs of UN interventions, threats from piracy, mass migration etc. – in a continent that sits at a strategic crossroads between cultures and economies.

The G8, the G20 and the wider international community have a strategic interest in promoting growth and development in Africa. But to achieve and to benefit from this, a higher priority needs to be given to understanding and engaging with the politics of individual African states and building serious diplomatic initiatives that are integrated within broader continental aims. Such policies should not simply reproduce some of the more negative aspects of previous political engagement.

This is not an issue of choice for countries that wish to preserve and build upon traditional alliances across Africa to promote and sustain their international positions. Emerging global players will be ever more ready and able to supplant these long-established alliances. Yet this does not need to be a zero-sum game of competition. A renewed short-term, self-interested scramble will only undermine and destroy the fragile consensus that has been built in recent years and that is beginning to deliver stability and growth across Africa.

The consensus around regionalization, aid, business growth, governance and climate change offers the best hope for concerted action that will benefit both Africa and the international community. But to do this, development campaigners and the private sector need to work together far more effectively and overcome some of the issues that have prevented them from doing so.

Finally, there are significant risks and dangers in encouraging diplomats to take the lead on relations with African states and integrating the business community, and to some extent the military, into developmental efforts. A return to short-term exploitative relations would reproduce the very conditions that contributed so much to Africa's underdevelopment. Oversight at all levels (political, legal and moral) will be required to ensure such relations remain rules-based and mutually beneficial. This in return requires strong, effective leadership and a sense of purpose from within Africa itself. There are signs that this is emerging, but governments throughout the continent cannot afford to be complacent if Africa is to defend and pursue a more assertive and rewarding set of international relations.

Annex: Tracking G8 Delivery Against Promises

Different organizations have attempted to track aspects of delivery on G8 promises to Africa.

The annual *Data Report* concentrates on aid pledges. Its 2010 issue found that by the end of 2009 the G7 (Russia did not make a pledge) had delivered 44 per cent of the increases promised by 2010. The report found that the G8 had delivered best on health commitments, had made good progress on delivering against education commitments, and had generally performed poorly on agriculture and water and sanitation.¹⁴⁰

However, the foundation document of the G8's Africa focus was arguably the 2002 *Africa Action Plan*. It bound the G8 to very ambitious commitments related to peace and security, strengthening institutions and governance, implementing debt relief, improving and promoting information and expanding digital opportunities, and improving health, in particular to counter the spread of HIV/AIDS.

The *G8 Research Group* in Toronto is probably the world's leading centre for research on G8-related issues, and as part of this it attempts to subject G8 commitments to rigorous academic scrutiny by way of annual compliance reports.¹⁴¹ These have grown in scope and complexity since 1997, and have had to adapt to the changing agenda and

format of the summits themselves. This makes comparison over time difficult. The latest interim compliance report (March 2010) offers some useful insights into many aspects of G8 activity, including several related to Africa. The report scores each G8 country on its compliance with each commitment under a set of 24 subheadings – from -0 (complete non-compliance or even regression) to +1 (complete compliance). When taken with compliance reports dating back to the first year of the G8 Africa Action Plan, signed in Kananaskis in 2002, and compared against the commitments made at that point, the problems of identifying delivery against commitments become clear.¹⁴²

First, just because the G8 does not mention something in its communiqué does not mean that member states have not made commitments or undertaken activity in this area.

Secondly, it is impossible to weight commitments made related to a specific issue – for instance 'developing a Regional Micro Small and Medium Enterprises Investment Fund (REGMIFA) as an instrument to mobilize resources to refinance medium- and long-term investment credits for smaller enterprises and to microfinance institutions'¹⁴³ – against those made more generally, for example 'to provide extra resources for Africa's peacekeeping forces so that they can better deter, prevent and resolve conflicts in Africa.'¹⁴⁴

Lastly, the average scores produced do not reflect the years or the issues where nothing at all has been promised. Is a 0.46 compliance score overall fair when issues such as higher education have not been addressed at all in G8 communiqués? Overall it seems hard to argue that this is a meaningful exercise, and it tells us little more about the effectiveness of the G8 than would observation and experience. The Canadian Government Accountability Working Group is seeking to bring far more resources and rigour than this exercise, but it remains open to question whether even that can analyse such a vast field of data in an objective and scientific manner.

140 *Data Report 2010*, executive summary (see note 72 above).

141 G8 Information Centre Analytical and compliance studies, <http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/evaluations/index.html>.

142 Chairman's Summary, 2005 G8 Communiqué, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page7883>.

143 'Growth and Responsibility in Africa', German G8 Summit Declaration, http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2007compliance_final/07-final-11-mkts.pdf.

144 Chairman's Summary, 2005 G8 Communiqué, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page7883>.

**Table A1: G8 progress on Africa Action Plan commitments
(as measured against G8 Research Group annual scorings)**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Avg*
Promoting peace and security				0.67	0.44				0.58
Supporting African efforts to resolve the principal armed conflicts on the continent	0.38			0.89		0.44			
Providing technical and financial assistance so that, by 2010, African countries and regional and sub-regional organizations are able to engage more effectively to prevent and resolve violent conflict on the continent, and undertaking peace support operations in accordance with the United Nations Charter			0.67				0.67	0	
Supporting efforts by African countries and the United Nations to better regulate the activities of arms brokers and traffickers and to eliminate the flow of illicit weapons to and within Africa									
Supporting African efforts to eliminate and remove anti-personnel mines.									
Working with African governments, civil society and others to address the linkage between armed conflict and the exploitation of natural resources									
Providing more effective peace-building support to societies emerging from or seeking to prevent armed conflicts						0.78			
Working to enhance African capacities to protect and assist war-affected populations, and facilitating the effective implementation in Africa of United Nations Security Council resolutions relating to civilians, women and children in armed conflict – including by supporting African countries hosting, assisting and protecting large refugee populations			0.88						
Strengthening institutions and governance		0.25							0.32
Supporting the NEPAD's priority political governance objectives	0.25								
Strengthening capacity-building programmes related to economic and corporate governance in Africa, focusing on the NEPAD priority areas of implementing sound macro-economic strategies, strengthening public financial management and accountability, protecting the integrity of monetary and financial systems, strengthening accounting and auditing systems, and developing an effective corporate governance framework	0								
Supporting African peer-review arrangements									
Giving increased attention to and support for African efforts to promote and protect human rights									
Supporting African efforts to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women									
Intensifying support for the adoption and implementation of effective measures to combat corruption, bribery and embezzlement			0.11	0.25		0.33	0.67	0.67	

*Average for each commitment

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Avg*
Fostering trade, investment, economic growth and sustainable development		-0.38	1	0.33		0.56		0.44	0.30
Helping Africa attract investment, both from within Africa and from abroad, and implementing policies conducive to economic growth			-1	0.56			0.33	0.55	
Facilitating capacity-building and the transfer of expertise for the development of infrastructure projects, with particular attention to regional initiatives									
Providing greater market access for African products	-0.13			0					
Increasing the funding and improving the quality of support for trade-related technical assistance and capacity-building in Africa			0.56						
Supporting African efforts to advance regional economic integration and intra-African trade						0.33			
Improving the effectiveness of Official Development Assistance (ODA), and strengthening ODA commitments for enhanced-partnership countries	0.5	0.88		0.22		0.44	0.44	0.11	
Implementing debt relief	0.25	0.38	1	1	0.88	0.33			0.64
Expanding knowledge: improving and promoting education and expanding digital opportunities									0.35
Supporting African countries in their efforts to improve the quality of education at all levels	0.63			0.33		0.44		0	
Supporting efforts to ensure equal access to education by women and girls									
Working with African partners to increase assistance to Africa's research and higher education capacity in enhanced-partnership countries									
Helping Africa create digital opportunities									
Helping Africa make more effective use of ICT in the context of promoting sustainable economic, social and political development									
Improving health and confronting HIV/AIDS					0.44	0.67		0.33	0.40
Helping Africa combat the effects of HIV/AIDS		0.88	0.56	0.33	0.44	0.67	0.77		
Supporting African efforts to build sustainable health systems in order to deliver effective disease interventions				0.11		0.33		0.111	
Accelerating the elimination and mitigation in Africa of polio, river blindness and other diseases or health deficiencies			0.44		0.22		-0.33		
Supporting health research on diseases prevalent in Africa, with a view to narrowing the health research gap, including by expanding health research networks to focus on African health issues, and by making more extensive use of researchers based in Africa									
Total score for G8 commitments on Africa									0.43

Source: Author's compilation

ΣΝ *SNf* STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION



CHATHAM HOUSE

Chatham House, 10 St James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE
T: +44 (0)20 7957 5700 E: contact@chathamhouse.org.uk
F: +44 (0)20 7957 5710 www.chathamhouse.org.uk
Charity Registration Number: 208223

ISBN 978-1-86203-224-8



9 781862 032248