

T7 Task Force International cooperation for the global common good

POLICY BRIEF

A SEAT AT THE TABLE: A G7 PARTNERSHIP WITH AFRICA

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Abstract

Africa's representation on the global stage, including and especially in terms of its contribution to global policymaking in key areas that impact its development, is disproportionate to the extent to which it is affected by these policies. Therefore, in order to bolster Africa's contribution to efforts supporting climate-related policies, public health, and economic development, this policy brief proposes that the G7 establish a 'G7 Partnership with Africa' analogous to that of the G20 Compact with Africa. Setting the G7 Partnership with Africa apart from the G20 is its multifaceted focus and low barriers to entry. It is envisioned as a mutually beneficial arrangement for G7 and African countries to improve cooperation on critical issues in health, climate and business related affairs, allow African countries greater agency in determining the policies that affect them the most, while developing inclusive and systematic engagement between the G7 and the African continent.

Challenges

Africa as a continent embodies the dynamism of our era—disproportionately impacted by the challenges of our times but uniquely equipped to combat them. Africa accounts for 17% of the global population and only 4% of the world economy, but is expected to have the world's biggest potential labour force by 2035 and is therefore a huge potential market (African Development Bank, 2021).

However, Africa remains severely underrepresented in multilateral decision-making bodies (Hackenesch et al., 2018). Within the G20, South Africa is the only African member state, while two pan-African organisations have observer status: the African Union and NEPAD, the Heads of State and Government Coordination Committee of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (Hackenesch et al., 2018). Africa is not represented whatsoever within the G7, an insufficient level of engagement considering the current global challenges and strong interdependencies between Africa and the G7 countries.

Barely a single problem of our time can be solved without Africa (Kloke-Lesch, 2021). At the same time, G7 decisions substantially impact development in Africa—especially in the areas of global economic and financial policy, digital transformation, private sector development, global health, climate and environment (G7 United Kingdom, 2021). Therefore, it is incumbent on the G7 to promote engagement and leadership from the African continent.

For the G7 to maximise its contribution to the global policy debate on economic issues and develop a more inclusive, sustainable and equitable partnership with Africa, it needs to address the current socio-economic imbalances between the G7 countries and Africa, as the multilateral order is dramatically shifting along with technological and demographic forces (Mburu, 2019). This policy brief argues that the G7 needs to reframe Africa as a priority, with a tripartiate emphasis on health, climate and economic development.

Pillar 1: Health-related challenges

Public health has taken on unprecedented significance in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, which is a devastating reminder of the critical role that health infrastructure plays in the promotion of human security. The huge imbalance in vaccine distribution has rendered clear the inequities of global health systems—both in terms of access to critical supplies and technology such as vaccines and in terms of public health infrastructure more broadly. As of January 2022, 9 billion vaccines worldwide had been produced, and Africa had only received 6% of the vaccines, despite representing 17% of the global population. Less than 10% of Africans are currently fully vaccinated, while over 1.3 billion have not received any vaccine (Sidibé, 2022). Where approaches to public health in Africa in the past have failed—a notable example being the

decision to exclude African countries from active participation in malaria eradication efforts in the mid-20th century premised on their underdeveloped infrastructure—it is often a consequence of failing to engage local populations (Fee et al., 2006). Irrespective of any infrastructural shortcomings, it is crucial to promote the active participation of affected regions. Ignoring the agency of a continent where 94% of global malaria cases are recorded is a demonstrably ineffective approach to combatting infectious disease. Africa accounts for 67% of international HIV cases, which has led to the emergence of a highly skilled labour pool of African infectious-disease specialists. As evidenced by the partly disjointed European and American responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, even developed economies can learn from knowledge generated in the Global South. Currently, there is a disproportionate dependency on the Global North, from which Africa must import more than 90% of its medical equipment even as it bears the most significant burden of disease in the world (Nwaka et al, 2012).

Pillar 2: Climate-related challenges

Although climate change is a global phenomenon, the impacts of climate change are distributed quite disparately. Africa bears the brunt of the climate emergency. According to a current report by the UN's World Meteorological Organization (WMO), Africa is facing higher-than-average levels of temperature increase and sea-level rise (WMO, 2021). Beyond that, African countries are already spending between 2-9% of their GDP on measures to adapt to the climate crisis, which is significantly higher than adaptation resource flow from international sources (UNECA, 2017). Moreover, Africa's spending is disproportionately high in light of its negligible contribution to global emissions; with its 1.2 billion inhabitants, Africa's contribution to global cumulative emissions is around 2.7%, while a country like Germany, with 85 million people, has contributed around 4% (Ritchie, 2019).

The G7 has announced its intention to keep the 1.5°C threshold for global warming within reach and to conserve or protect 30% of global land and marine areas by 2030. However, despite their status as the wealthiest countries in the world, G7 members consistently fall short of targeted spending on climate financing for developing nations (Harrabin, 2021). They have additionally pledged to implement quicker response processes to extreme weather events and climate-related disasters, but have failed to produce the architecture necessary for such a response system, reifying Africa's disenfranchisement in international climate change governance due to its 'position as a recipient, not formulator, and a victim, not participant' (Makina, 2013, p.36) in the fight against climate change. The lack of movement in this regard is certainly attributable, at least in part, to Africa's lack of agency on the world stage due to the club-style climate governance of the Global North that is currently the norm.

Pillar 3: Economic challenges

Africa contributes less than 4% to the world economy but represents 17% of the global population. It is the most resource-rich continent, but exports primarily raw materials rather than leveraging its substantial reserves of human capital to generate surplus value through processing, which is almost exclusively done in the Global North. Africa accounts for such a small proportion of global GDP not because it lacks the resources or ability to grow, but because of global policies that prevent the continent from achieving its full potential (African Development Bank, 2021). Moreover, high tariffs and European agricultural subsidies continue to prevent Africa's increased participation in the world market and weaken local producers. Its economy is still considered unattractive by many foreign investors, who do not believe the markets to be sufficiently established and are often unaware of emerging or existing opportunities.

Africa's potential political and economic dependency on China is concerning, considering China's interest in shaping international standards according to its national interest. The tendency for focussing economic initiatives inward and prioritising sovereign economies among G7 countries does not bode well when the world's economic centre of gravity is shifting towards China (Crawford, 2021). Africa's and the G7's future prosperity will be symbiotic, relying on their interconnectedness and the openness of their markets while prioritising multilateralism. There is growing recognition that the current disparity between the upper third economies and those in the bottom third is not conducive to sustainable growth.

Proposals

We propose that the G7 adopt an analogous approach to incorporating Africa into policy-making processes in health, climate and economic matters. Our partnership is framed broadly to rest upon the three pillars of: (1) health partnership, (2) climate partnership, and (3) economic growth partnership. Each of these areas represents a critical dimension of human security, which requires the concerted efforts of the global community and is itself the raison d'être of the SDGs, the 2030 Agenda and 2063 Agenda.

The G20, in pursuit of its aim to secure global economic growth and prosperity, recognized the necessity of providing African countries a seat at the table in developing the policies that require their contributions. To this end, the G20 established the Compact with Africa (CwA) in 2017, an initiative that incorporates African leaders and stakeholders into the economic policymaking process and is centred around three primary issues under the umbrella of economic development: (1) the macroeconomic environment for investment, (2) the business environment in which firms operate and (3) the financing environment facing would-be investors (G20 Compact with Africa, 2017). The Compact with Africa is oftentimes considered too shortsighted, as solely boosting infrastructure and investment will not solve the root causes of flight and migration, which are anchored in a lack of prospects (Lay, 2017). Even though the engagement of African actors to this extent in G20 policy making was innovative, it was not transformed into a deeper engagement of Africa directly afterwards (Leiniger, 2017).

The CwA is not fully reflective of a sustainable development agenda, as outlined in the Agenda 2030 and the AU's Agenda 2063. All three points of our proposal are anchored in soft law development documents of the international community. The G20 Compact with Africa is sometimes considered to be unsuitable for African low-income countries and does not reflect challenges that many African countries face. We propose a partnership that is more inclusive, has reduced barriers to entry and is driven by African experts. We suggest a three pillared approach that focusses on **climate**, **health and economy** in order to address challenges **holistically** and bridge international efforts as set forth in the SDGs and the AU agenda.

Pillar 1: Health-related proposals

Recent discourse around public health has focussed understandably on acute threats such as virulent infectious diseases like Covid-19, SARS, and Ebola, as well as bioterrorism threats such as anthrax. While the significance of these threats is self-evident, they often overshadow the most common vectors of global morbidity and mortality (Smith, 2015), including tuberculosis, malaria, and influenza (Stevenson & Moran, 2014). The same health infrastructure that can target these diseases today will be critical for curbing the

spread of new vectors in the future. By working with, rather than simply on behalf of, African countries, G7 countries and their allies will be far better equipped to support global public health and prevent the next pandemic before it begins. The global health challenge needs inclusive solutions, and we take the position that Africa cannot and must not be left out of the health policy conversation.

G7 health ministers praised South Africa for its early Omicron warning, but later G7 governments penalized South Africa with travel restrictions, which has led to considerable distrust from the African side. Last year, the G7 health ministers emphasised global health security and recognised the concept of 'one health' (the interconnectedness of human, animal and planetary health). An expert panel on 'one health' was established: the One Health High Level Expert Panel led by the WHO, FAO, OIE and UNEP. Here as well, African perspectives are warranted and we suggest the inclusion of the AU's Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC).

Capacity building needs to be supported. Regional Collaborating Centres already exist whose capacity can be expanded in order to strenghten health infrastructure within Africa. The fight against Covid-19 has led to the deterioration of crucial infrastructure, such as the use of schools as immunization loci for children. Rates of malaria, HIV and other infectious diseases have further increased since the pandemic—an intolerable state of affairs that negates other progress in public health linked to COVID-19. We propose that G7 leaders reject the narrative that Africa has been less affected by the pandemic than the Global North. Even though the pandemic itself appears to have taken a milder course in Africa than in Europe, it has severe consequenses for the continent.

We propose further discussing a way to reach vaccine equity, which is far from being attained. There are a variety of potential paths toward this goal, including TRIPS waivers and ACT-A. The question of whether to invest in Africa's infrastructure to develop their own COVID-19 vaccines is short sighted: building manufacturing infrastructure will strengthen Africa for the next pandemics as well as infectious disease more broadly. It is of crucial importance to work together with Africa to eliminate its reliance on the imports of life-saving medication, which history has proven can be withheld in the event of global crises. G7 governments should create the space and initiatives for African governments and German pharmaceutical companies to set up public-private partnerships (PPPs) to increase manufacturing capacity of vaccines and other products critical to public health.

G7 global health programmes must be expanded and broadened. Mental health, 'one health', and sexual and reproductive health are among the areas that receive too little attention, while neglected tropical diseases continue to affect over a billion people every year. Product Development Partnerships (PDPs) are needed and should be co-developed by African and European partners. Research and development is frequently considered to be a one-way street with knowledge being generated primarily in the West—a problem which

can be solved by integrating local knowledge and African perspectives. Failing to take advantage of African expertise is a waste of resources and knowledge.

Pillar 2: Climate-related proposals

A G7 Partnership with Africa centres African perspectives on climate change adaptation, while crucial efforts at mitigation will not be overlooked. The G7 Partnership with Africa is an opportunity for the G7 and Africa to recast and elevate their partnership in search of mutually-beneficial and forward-driven solutions. This initiative will incorporate African knowledge and expertise as African countries transform their economies to address the climate emergency while creating jobs and scaling up infrastructure for renewable energy.

CwA is not sufficiently concious of the environmental risks associated with private investment and we propose that the G7 Partnership with Africa bridge its second and third pillars to engage in entrepreneurial investments that are part of a green transition. It is, however, also clear that in a continent where over 600 million people still lack access to electricity (World Bank, 2021), the industrialization agenda is oftentimes prioritised over a green transition. African countries should not be compelled to sacrifice their developmental agenda of poverty reduction and economic growth to compensate for the industrial indulgences of the West. There are many partners who collaborate with Africa on energy-related matters with a solely profit-driven, unsustainable agenda. G7 countries must offer African governments a realistic action plan and understand that a just transition for African countries that will benefit the globe needs to be financially supported by the G7. Especially Europe, its neighbouring continent, should work with Africa in achieving prosperity that does not come at the expense of the environment.

The European Green Deal may help European countries to become climate neutral, but it puts African countries at a disadvantage by establishing higher trade barriers. Negotiations on how to avoid this must be initiated and Africa's ability to engage in trade needs to be considered in efforts like the Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM). Africa cannot accept being held back due to European efforts to mitigate their own carbon emissions by losing out on financing opportunities for their own transition. Climate change's global nature requires that efforts to combat it be determined together, rather than occurring at the expense of economically weaker participants.

There is a finance gap for adaptation measures in Africa and a dearth of capital necessary to develop clean energy. G7 countries and African governments need to cooperate in order to create a framework for increasing blended finance in this field. African finances exist for this purpose, though they are often under- or misused due to illicit finance or capital flight. The G7 countries and African governments should work together to combat these phenomena, as they result in a net loss of resources for funding the green transition and other developmental goals.

In addition to financial resources, knowledge and technology transfers in the fields of energy production and clean energy are essential for a green transition, which can be facilitated through partnerships in key industries.

Pillar 3: Digitalization and entrepreneurship as key drivers of economic growth

Africa and the G7 need to channel the potential of digital transformation and the creative energy of entrepreneurship towards sustainable and inclusive economic development. Digital technologies enhance inclusive and sustainable growth by spurring innovation, generating efficiencies, improving goods and services, and enabling trade and investment (Manyika et al., 2016; Snower et al., 2020). G7 members should support the African continent in catalytic initiatives that support African governments toward digital readiness and financial inclusion. This envisions coordinated regulations and a pan-African payment system to support trade and economic growth across the continent's eight regional economic communities (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2019).

Productive entrepreneurship has been identified as an engine of prosperity in transformation countries (Naudé, 2017). The African population will reach up to 2.5 billion people by 2050 and will have an incomparably young population, with 70% of sub-Saharan Africans being under 30 years old (UN, 2021). The continent is on the move like no other; people are already engaging in growth-oriented entrepreneurial activities and skipping decades of technological and ecological development stages, which is why Africa is often referred to as the "leapfrogging continent" (Klingholz et al, 2020). Modernisation and innovation will happen quickly, leapfrogging will become more prominent and European investors need to be stimulated.

Africa's entrepreneurial growth is immense, and investors can benefit from the potential of the African markets, which will become more intertwined and efficient through the African Continental Free Trade Area. The G7 countries can generate more investment confidence by ensuring a return on investments and encouraging banks to leverage instruments into leapfrogging technologies. A repo market as a form of short-term borrowing for potential investors can be installed in sub-Saharan Africa in a similar manner to that of many developed countries. A short-term lending facility could save government interest rates as well as increase investors' trust (Songwe, 2021). Additionally, G7 governments could secure and 'insure' first time investments in Africa.

The G7 should work together with African countries to build effective entrepreneurial ecosystems. Support services such as incubator services and entrepreneurial networks need to be established. African entrepreneurs with homegrown solutions need to be scaled up instead of restrained by the high costs of doing business internationally, as access to international funding is often a barrier for emerging entrepreneurs. The G7 and African countries should collaboratively develop policies and programmes that favour inclusive access

to finance. Specifically, the G7 can support African countries by engaging in bank reform or creating innovative sources of finance.

An enabling environment for training and knowledge transfer should be created by increasing entrepreneurial education and providing technical support in educational institutions. G7 should support governments in sub-Saharan Africa to foster stronger linkages between public research centres, universities and the private sector and to facilitate the transfer and commercialisation of R&D. Furthermore, G7 and African countries should establish a network where best practices are shared.

Implementations

These recommendations can be best implementated by building upon countries' preexisting national development plans. By forming synergies with exisiting agendas, the partnership should increase self-determination instead of imposing Western approaches on development. Joining the new initiative would require a proactive opt-in approach which should not be tied to existing funds of the participating countries. The G20 Compact with Africa is oftentimes criticised for favouring wealthy African countries in the selection process. The G7 Partnership with Africa should require nothing more than the willingness of participating countries to strengthen their institutional governance in order to enhance the efficacy of their programming and decrease corruption.

Policy developed under this regime should be developed primarily by African participants in order to leverage African expertise and prioritise African interests, and should be aligned with the developmental goals of AU's Agenda 2063. The UNECA has requested an Africa-related working group within the G7, to which the IMF has already agreed. We second this idea and believe that issues related to Africa have to be mainstreamed into all global dialogues, as well as be engaged with by African experts in a specialized task force.

Analogous to the T20 Africa Standing Group, we suggest a T7 Standing Group with a consistent focus on Africa and knowledge exchange with African partners.

In order to maximise efficacy and reduce redundant efforts made by disparate institutions, we suggest that the G7 build on existing initiatives in women's entrepreneurship development and private sector investments. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that financing alone is insufficient to achieve these goals and capacity-building needs be centred even in ongoing projects. We suggest the continuous presence of an AU representative in any forum dedicated to the creation of policy related to Africa, similar to the EU presence in multilateral conventions that affect Europe. We call for a seat at the table for Africa in the same way.

Conclusion

Africa's influence on the global stage is increasing due to its rising population, its economic interdependencies, its markets for labour and capital, and its natural resource reserves, among myriad other factors. The outcomes of global policy that affect the continent are far out of proportion to African countries' impact on global policy creation. To ensure that global policymaking accurately meets the needs of African countries and reflects the influence that they merit, the G7 and greater international community would benefit from the establishment of a G7 Partnership with Africa, engaging directly with African countries and enabling them to have a hand in shaping their futures, which are tied inextricably to the those of the broader global community.

Disclaimer

This policy brief was developed and written by the authors and has undergone a peer-review process. The views and opinions expressed in this policy brief are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the authors' organizations.

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