

THE G20'S CONTRIBUTION TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Faith Tigere & Catherine Grant Makokera



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The Global Economic Governance (GEG) Africa programme is a policy research and stakeholder engagement programme aimed at strengthening the influence of African coalitions at global economic governance forums such as the G20, BRICS, World Trade Organization and World Bank, among others, in order to bring about pro-poor policy outcomes.

The second phase of the programme started in March 2016 and will be implemented over a period of three years until March 2019.

The programme is expected to help create an international system of global economic governance that works better for the poor in Africa through:

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- ensuring that African views are considered, knowledge is shared and a shared perspective is developed through systematic engagement with African governments, regional organisations, think tanks, academic institutions, business organisations and civil society forums; and
- disseminating and communicating research and policy briefs to a wider audience via mass media and digital channels in order to create an informed and active policy community on the continent.

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GEGAFRICA
GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

The Group of Twenty (G20), as a forum for international cooperation on global economic governance and finance, has supported African development through the introduction of various initiatives and plans. The expansion of its original mandate has led the group to include other issues that directly impact Africa. It is crucial that the G20 development agenda remains cognisant of the development of the AU's Agenda 2063 and the need to meet the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As such, this discussion paper conducts a comparative analysis of the UN SDGs and the AU agenda, as well as existing G20 initiatives. In view of the gaps that have been identified, recommendations are made to the South African government – as a member of the G20 – on how future G20 engagements could support African objectives, in particular the African Development Agenda 2063 and the SDGs, in a more meaningful and effective manner.

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INTRODUCTION

The Group of Twenty (G20) is the premier forum for international cooperation on global economic governance and finance, established by the world's leading economies. It was initially set up in 1999 as a meeting of finance ministers and central bank governors in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis.¹ Thereafter, the group continued holding annual meetings. In 2008 the group was upgraded to a leader's summit, which resulted in the expansion of its agenda. It was the first time G20 leaders met to address the global financial crisis.

The G20's membership comprises 19 countries plus the EU. Of the 19, nine are developed countries and the remaining 10 developing countries. South Africa is the only permanent member from Africa, as it formed part of the original founding group. In addition to the original G20 members, other countries and organisations are invited by each G20 president to attend as guests every year the summit is held.²

1 Important leaders of key institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, AU, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the UN were also invited.

2 The German G20 presidency invited international organisations, including the International Labour Organization (ILO), IMF, Financial Stability Board (FSB), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), OECD and UN. This year the German G20 presidency has also invited the World Health Organization (WHO).

In short, the G20 brings together leaders, finance ministers and central bank governors from 19 countries plus the EU in a series of meetings, with a rotating presidency on an annual basis. The presiding president sets the agenda and priorities to be discussed, schedules future meetings and prepares statements to be issued. Finance ministers and central bank governors meet regularly during the year to discuss ways to strengthen the global economy, reform international financial institutions, improve financial regulation and implement the key economic reforms that are needed in each member economy. The Finance track³ of the G20 also addresses issues such as fiscal and monetary policy, financial regulation, investment in infrastructure, and tax issues. The Sherpa track, in which each member is represented by a senior official known as the Sherpa,⁴ deals with more developmental and socio-economic issues such as global health, gender equity and climate change. The two tracks come together at the leaders' summit, where a communiqué is issued that summarises the key issues discussed in both tracks, including the commitments and responses of the G20 members each year.

The G20 represents 86% of the global economy, 78% of world trade and two-thirds of the world's population.⁵ It has three main goals: establishing policy coordination among its members to achieve global economic stability and strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth; establishing financial regulations that reduce risks and prevent future financial crises; and modernising the international financial architecture. The G20 leaders have met 11 times since 2008.⁶ In 2009 the G20 launched the G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable, Balanced Growth, where each country undertook commitments on which they were to account through a peer review process. Although these commitments are non-binding, they set the tone for global economic policy and are at the heart of the group's agenda.

Beyond the core financial and economic growth issues of the G20, each year additional priorities are adopted and revised in line with the interests of the presiding member. The presiding president is also responsible for leading a three-member management group consisting of the previous president, current president

3 The Finance track consists of the finance ministers and central bank governors of G20 members, as well as the IMF, FSB, World Bank and OECD. The Finance track's main focus is economic issues and financial matters. Its mandate also entails drafting proposals for the international financial system, and monitoring the international financial, economic and monetary system. The agenda for the ministers is set by deputy ministers and the governors. The Finance track meets regularly throughout the year.

4 Leaders of key institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, AU, OECD, ASEAN and UN were also invited.

5 Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'The G20', <http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/international-organisations/g20/Pages/the-g20.aspx>, accessed 29 June 2017.

6 Previous hosts of the G20 Leaders' Summit were the US in 2008 and 2009, the UK 2009, Canada 2010, the Republic of Korea 2010, France 2011, Mexico 2012, Russia 2013, Australia 2014, Turkey 2015 and China 2016. The 2017 summit was held in Germany and the next annual meeting will be in Argentina in 2018.

and future president, referred to as the Troika. The Troika system aims at ensuring continuity and transparency from one year to the next. There is a rotation system between sub-groups of G20 members to determine who will lead the process each year, and the pattern tends to see a developed country (or G7 member) followed by a developing member.

While there are clear divisions along 'development' lines in the G20, the group has a more informal character than other international bodies, which allows members to operate without needing to take recourse to coalitions on all issues. It is one of the few global economic governance platforms that bring together traditional Western powers with emerging countries (including the BRICS) on an equal footing.

The adoption of the UN's 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has required the G20 to adjust its approach to development issues

Over time the G20's agenda has evolved, particularly since 2008, shifting away from a core focus on finance and macroeconomic issues to encompass a broader array of concerns. There has been a strong focus on development since the formation of the Development Working Group (DWG) in 2010. The work of the DWG covers a wide range of issues but has tended to concentrate on the needs of low-income countries (LICs) through a traditional development cooperation paradigm.⁷ The adoption of the UN's 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)⁸ has required the G20 to adjust its approach to development issues. The SDGs are ambitious and require action by all countries, not just low-income and developing ones. This was recognised by the G20 in its adoption of the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (G20 Action Plan) in 2016, and its role in the implementation of the SDGs is starting to become more clearly defined.

This paper will explore the G20 agenda; compare it to the AU's plans, including Agenda 2063,⁹ and the UN's 2030 Agenda; and identify gaps left by the existing G20 frameworks. It is accompanied by policy recommendations for South Africa and other G20 members to consider in their future engagement on the SDGs and

7 Klope-Lesch A, 'The G20 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Reflections on future roles and tasks', Prepared for the 3rd Annual G20 Think Tank Summit, https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/Klope-Lesch_The_G20_and_the_Sustainable_Development_Goals.pdf, accessed 16 November 2017.

8 UN, *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, August 2015, https://www.un.org/pga/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2015/08/120815_outcome-document-of-Summit-for-adoption-of-the-post-2015-development-agenda.pdf, accessed 29 June 2017.

9 AU, *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want*, https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/3657-file-agenda2063_popular_version_en.pdf, accessed 13 July 2017.

the rest of the DWG agenda. The intention is to also provide some online resources based on this research, which will be updated each year by the Global Economic Governance Africa project.¹⁰

G20 AND AFRICA

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the interaction between the G20 and African countries. Nnadozie and Grant Makokera noted in 2014 that 'the G20 agenda unquestionably [has] an impact on policies relevant to Africa's economic development',¹¹ and this remains the case today. This paper is an update on some of that research, which was conducted by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) to evaluate the intersection between the G20 and African development agendas.¹² It builds on previous work done in 2011,¹³ 2014¹⁴ and 2015,¹⁵ and picks up on a case study to highlight the interaction between the G20 and Africa in terms of infrastructure development.

South Africa remains the only African permanent member of the G20. The challenges it faces in this regard were highlighted by Nnadozie and Grant Makokera, who recommended that African countries, including through their representative agencies, adopt a sustainable approach to enable effective participation in the group.¹⁶ Traditionally, the AU and NEPAD have been invited as observers to the G20, represented by the leaders of the countries chairing the organisations at the time. This resulted in the limited active participation by Africa in G20 processes. However, the AU and NEPAD have now been upgraded to facilitate their involvement at the commission and agency levels respectively, in addition to the rotating chairs of these structures being invited to participate in G20 summits. This gives them more leverage in terms of space to participate in G20 activities outside the annual summits, such as the DWG.

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- 10 GEG Africa (Global Economic Governance Africa), www.gegafrica.org, a research project aimed at providing policy recommendations to the South African government and other African stakeholders on global economic governance issues.
 - 11 Nnadozie E & C Grant Makokera, 'The G20 and Development: Ensuring Greater African Participation', SAIIA (South African Institute of International Affairs) Policy Briefing, 117, <https://www.saiia.org.za/policy-briefings/656-the-g-20-and-development-ensuring-greater-african-participation/file>, accessed 11 September 2017.
 - 12 Grant Makokera C, 'G-20 Development Agenda and African Priorities: An Update', SAIIA Occasional Paper, 227, 2016, p. 6.
 - 13 Draper P *et al.*, 'The G20 and African Development', ODI (Overseas Development Institute) & SAIIA Policy Paper, 2011, https://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/research/dtftp/edip_policy_paper_g-20_african_development_201103.pdf, accessed 11 September 2017.
 - 14 Nnadozie E & C Grant Makokera, *op. cit.*
 - 15 Grant Makokera C, *op. cit.*
 - 16 *Ibid.*

Despite this minimal African representation in G20 meetings, G20 leaders continue to insist that Africa remains a priority. Over the past few years Africa's development has been included on the G20 agenda in various areas. The earlier research by the ODI and SAIIA that forms the basis of this paper found that there was a significant overlap between G20 policies and African interests, as outlined in Table 1. The study concluded that the G20 could positively impact on Africa's growth prospects, and identified Africa as an important player in global rebalancing, for example by promoting capital flows from surplus countries to profitable opportunities in sustainable infrastructure and climate finance opportunities.¹⁷

TABLE 1 CORE G20 POLICIES, DEVELOPMENT AGENDA AND AFRICAN GROWTH	
CORE G20 POLICY	AFRICAN INTERESTS IN THE G20
Financial regulation	Stricter rules on lending could negatively affect African access to much-needed capital
Trade	Africa benefits from a strong multilateral trading system, including the WTO
Financial safety nets	Support countries hit by financial crises
Transparency in natural resource revenue	More transparency could increase the amount of tax paid to African countries
Tax reform, including base erosion and profit shifting	Supporting tax reform and addressing illicit financial flows, including tax avoidance, evasion and tax havens
Inclusive growth	Ensuring multi-tiered development throughout African economies
Job creation	Ensuring sustainable growth and ultimately poverty reduction
Reform of international financial institutions	Africa is under-represented in the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Sustainable debt	Some African countries run the risk of becoming increasingly indebted
G20 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA	AFRICAN INTERESTS IN THE G20
Infrastructure	Leverage financing available from G20 investors, members and development finance institutions
Food security	Improve agricultural productivity
Financial inclusion	Increase access to banking services and credit
Domestic resource mobilisation	Enhance tax collection administrative capacity in developing countries
Remittances	Reduce the cost of transmitting remittances
Knowledge sharing	Learn lessons on economic development and growth through regional level platforms
Human resource development	Greater attention to developing practical and vocational training programmes

Source: Grant Makokera C, 'G20 Development Agenda and African Priorities: An Update', SAIIA Occasional Paper, 227, 2016, pp. 13–14

17 Draper P *et al.*, *op. cit.*

As illustrated by Table 1, the G20 has focused on key areas for Africa's development, notably infrastructure, food security, financial inclusion and human resource development. The G20's strategy for Africa also includes a series of isolated/individual initiatives depending on the presidency, such as the G20 Energy Access Action Plan in Sub-Saharan Africa (Antalya Summit),¹⁸ Support for Industrialisation

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(Hangzhou Summit) and the G20 Africa Partnership (Hamburg Summit).¹⁹ The Energy Access Action Plan is a voluntary collaboration framework that outlines the commitment of the G20 to work with and coordinate activities in sub-Saharan Africa to ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all, in line with SDG 7.²⁰ The G20 Africa Partnership is an initiative by the German presidency to support private investment, sustainable infrastructure and employment in African countries, as well as to contribute to the AU's Agenda 2063.²¹ These, more recent, initiatives are described in detail below.

The following sections update and build upon this earlier research to track the G20's progress in engaging with the priority concerns of African countries. It integrates the SDGs as a particularly relevant set of objectives in this regard and builds on previous recommendations to suggest ways in which the G20 can contribute to the implementation of global commitments to support Africa's ongoing economic development.

AGENDA 2063 AND THE SDGs

The AU's Agenda 2063 is a strategic framework for Africa's sustainable socio-economic transformation and integration over a five-decade period. It also aims at promoting democracy, peace and security for the continent. There are many overlaps

18 SE4All (Sustainable Energy for All), 'G20 Energy Access Action Plan in Sub-Saharan Africa', https://www.se4all-africa.org/fileadmin/uploads/se4all/Documents/guidelines_policy_and_hub_docs/23.09.2015-G20_Energy_Access_Action_Plan-Final.pdf, accessed 9 November 2017.

19 G20 Germany 2017, 'Annex to G20 Leaders Declaration: G20 Africa Partnership', <http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000272286.pdf>, accessed 12 September 2017.

20 SE4All, 'G20 Energy Access Action Plan: Antalya Summit', <https://www.se4all-africa.org/se4all-in-africa/regional-initiatives/G-20-energy-access-action-plan/>, accessed 21 September 2017.

21 Germany, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 'The G20 Africa Partnership: Hamburg Summit', https://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales_downloadarchiv/G-20/2017_03_Fact_Sheet_G-20_Africa_Partnership.pdf, accessed 21 September 2017.

between Agenda 2063 and the UN's 2030 Agenda. Agenda 2063 summarises its goal in six aspirations:²²

- 'A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development': this goal is aligned with some of the objectives indicated in the UN's Agenda 2030, to eradicate poverty through the social (education, health, housing) and economic transformation of the continent.
- 'An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance': focusing on liberation, and political and economic independence.
- 'An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law': one of the objectives is to flush out corruption and impunity.
- 'A peaceful and secure Africa': this aspiration identifies key issues such as ending armed conflicts, extremism and terrorism, as well as managing diversity and reducing crime.
- 'An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics': the principle of pan-Africanism is the main objective informing this aspiration.
- 'An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children'.

Much work still needs to be done to flesh out Agenda 2063 and establish a concrete set of activities that will build on the priority areas identified for the work of the AU and its partner organisations, including the African Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Africa.²³ The AU is currently engaged in the major

The AU's Agenda 2063 is a strategic framework for Africa's sustainable socio-economic transformation and integration over a five-decade period

institutional reform of its commission – a process led by Rwanda's President Paul Kagame. This overhaul aims to strengthen the AU by addressing its relationship with the continent's regional economic communities (RECs), institutional challenges and the sustainable financing of its agenda. The results of this process will likely have an impact on the implementation of Agenda 2063 going forward.

The UN's 2030 Agenda identifies a set of priorities and goals for a better world.²⁴ These goals are a continuation of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were a blueprint for eliminating poverty, combatting HIV and promoting sustainable development, gender equality and universal education. These goals have been expanded upon and packed into 17 comprehensive global SDGs (see Figure 1)

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 UN, August 2015, *op. cit.*

and 169 sub-goals. At this stage it is crucial to take cognisance of the progress that was made on the MDGs from 2015 to provide an analysis of how Africa would fare with implementation of the 2030 SDGs.

FIGURE 1 THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS



Source: UN, 'SDGs: 17 Goals to Transform Our World', <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>, accessed 16 November 2017

A UN report on the progress made in Africa toward the MDGs indicated that there was encouraging progress. It stated that Africa had seen an acceleration in economic growth, established ambitious social safety nets and designed policies for boosting education and tackling HIV and other diseases. It had also introduced women's quotas in parliament – leading the way internationally on gender equality – and increased gender parity in primary schools.²⁵ In addition, the report highlighted that most countries had made progress on at least one goal. However, poor implementation mechanisms and excessive reliance on development aid undermined the economic sustainability of several MDG interventions.²⁶

From the above report it is clear that Africa is on the right path and can achieve the SDGs, but such implementation is not without its challenges. Africa needs to do stock-taking of the MDG implementation process and see where improvements can be made. This opportunity is there in the form of the SDGs. They build on the

25 UNECA (UN Economic Commission for Africa), 'MDG Report 2015: Assessing Progress in Africa toward the Millennium Development Goals', https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/mdg-2015_eng_16sep_rev2.pdf, accessed 13 November 2013.

26 *Ibid.*

momentum created by the MDGs and generate further opportunities for Africa to fully implement and achieve set goals by addressing some of the outstanding issues.

The UN 2030 Agenda serves as a strategic blueprint to protect the planet, end poverty and ensure prosperity for all. One of the main priorities – and a key theme of the SDGs – is ‘leaving no one behind’. This means that SDG goals and targets should be met for all nations and people and for all segments of society. This implementation can only be successful if there is a precise understanding of the target populations. These include vulnerable groups such as children, persons with disabilities, people living with HIV, older persons, indigenous peoples, refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants.

The SDGs cover all dimensions of sustainable development and are broader and more complex than their predecessors.²⁷ The policies of G20 members directly impact upon sustainable development in Africa, and vice versa. There is also a role for the G20 with regard to implementation of the 2030 Agenda. Kloke-Lesch explains that implementation will require ‘domestic and international means, financial and non-financial, concessional and non-concessional, political and technical resources’.²⁸ For effective implementation, the SDG work plan and strategies must be implemented at all levels of government – municipal,²⁹ provincial and national. The different levels of government will have to coordinate their plans for transparency, coherence, efficiency and accountability, to ensure successful national implementation.

A strong alignment between the AU and the UN SDGs should mean that efforts by the G20 and others to promote full implementation of the SDGs would also see positive results in terms of Agenda 2063’s goals for the continent

An overview of Agenda 2063’s aspirations indicates that they mirror the objectives set out in the SDGs, as shown in Table 2. The AU’s Agenda 2063 fully incorporates the SDGs and in some instances, is more ambitious, for example in relation to access to education, and more detailed, such as in the area of gender empowerment and governance. There is no doubt that the AU has well-documented development plans, including Agenda 2063 and other declarations, and our analysis shows a close alignment with the global priorities set out in the UN’s 2030 Agenda.

27 Kloke-Lesch A, *op. cit.*

28 *Ibid.*

29 It is important to note that at this level there may be capacity, institutional and financial issues that may impede the implementation process.

Yet despite Africa's development agenda, it has a poor implementation record. This was summarised by Kagame, who stated that 'serious problems were repeatedly identified. Solutions were found. Decisions were made to apply the solutions. And very little happened.'³⁰ Both the UN and the AU ascribed Africa's failure to its poor implementation mechanisms, excessive reliance on development aid (over 80% of AU funding comes from donors) and regional fragmentation (economic and political). To change this dynamic and achieve the goals of Agenda 2063, the AU has made key proposals to:³¹

- enable the AU to finance itself in the long term;
- focus the organisation on key priorities with a continental scope;
- realign AU institutions to deliver against those priorities; and
- manage the business of the AU effectively in both political and operational terms.

One of the main arguments is that only when the AU funds itself will it be able to have an independent agenda and focus on the blueprint laid out in Agenda 2063. Thus, a strong alignment between the AU and the UN SDGs should mean that efforts by the G20 and others to promote full implementation of the SDGs would also see positive results in terms of Agenda 2063's goals for the continent.

TABLE 2 THE UN'S 2030 AGENDA AND THE AU'S AGENDA 2063

UN 2030 AGENDA	AU AGENDA 2063
SDG 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere	Aspiration 1: Eradicate poverty
SDG 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	Aspiration 1: Food security
SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	Aspiration 1: Achieve sound health and well-being
SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	Aspiration 1: Full access to education
SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	Aspiration 1: Gender equality Aspiration 3: Be a continent where gender equality is entrenched Aspiration 6: Achieve full gender equality in all spheres of life

30 Leke A, 'Reforming the African Union: The Vital Challenge of Implementation', Africa in Focus, Brookings, 3 May 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2017/05/03/reforming-the-african-union-the-vital-challenge-of-implementation/>, accessed 7 November 2017.

31 *Ibid.*

UN 2030 AGENDA	AU AGENDA 2063
SDG 6: Ensure access to water and sanitation for all	Aspiration 1: Water and sanitation
SDG 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	Call for Action: Renewable and environmentally friendly energy to all African households, businesses, industries and institutions
SDG 8: Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all	Aspiration 1: Achieve economies that are structurally transformed for shared growth, decent jobs and economic opportunities for all. AU members seek to create jobs
SDG 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation	Aspiration 2: Africa shall have an integrative infrastructure that criss-crosses the continent
SDG 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries	Aspiration 6: Eliminate all forms of inequalities between regions, countries and within countries
SDG 11: Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	Aspiration 1: Climate-resilient economies and communities
SDG 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	Aspiration 1: Sustainable use and management of water resources for socio-economic development, regional cooperation and the environment
SDG 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Call to action: Implementation of the Programme on Climate Action in Africa
SDG 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources	Aspiration 1: Sustainable use and management of water resources
SDG 15: Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss	Aspiration 1: Its environment and ecosystems, including its wildlife and wild lands are healthy, valued and protected, with climate resilient economies and communities
SDG 16: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies	Aspiration 3: Africa shall have a universal culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law Aspiration 4: Achieve a peaceful and secure Africa
SDG 17: Revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development	Call to action: Calls for alignment and partnership with other regions

Source: Authors' compilation from UN, 'SDGs: 17 Goals to Transform Our World', <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/> and AU, 'Agenda for 2063', <http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf>, accessed 16 November 2017

THE G20 AND THE SDGs

The G20 was not designed to tackle development issues directly, its main focus being economic growth and financial stability. Even its agenda in this area predates the SDGs. This had the potential to create gaps at the global level in relation to development initiatives. However, more recently the G20 has explicitly incorporated into its own agenda the aspirations of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. The result is a clear alignment between the priorities of the AU's Agenda 2063 and the 2030 Agenda, as shown above, and these development plans' increasing consistency with G20 initiatives. Table 3 sets out the relationship between the 2030 Agenda and the G20 agenda over the past four years, and reflects G20 members' commitment to these goals. Although each G20 presidency brings a slightly different emphasis, there is a strong level of consistency in areas such as food security (SDG 2), clean energy (SDG 7) and infrastructure financing (SDG 9).

During the 2016 Hangzhou Summit, the G20 adopted the Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The German G20 presidency in 2017 committed to further align its actions with the 2030 Agenda and its integral part, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development (Addis Ababa Agreement), domestically and internationally, including in support of developing countries and the provision of public goods towards achieving the SDGs.³² The G20 thus works to foster sustainable development, for which the 2030 Agenda and the Addis Ababa Agreement³³ provide the key international frames of reference.

The renewal of the G20's commitment to the 2030 Agenda in the recent summit declarations is consistent with the AU Agenda 2063. These declarations commit to support all 17 SDGs in the 2030 Agenda. The G20 is using its political mandate to add momentum to SDG implementation, including in African countries. The G20 Action Plan adopted in 2016 moves the G20 towards a more measurable contribution to the implementation of the SDGs. The action plan aims to align the G20's agenda with the 2030 Agenda through both collective and individual efforts, including implementing the agenda domestically according to national priorities, needs and capacities. In addition, the G20 intends to focus on sectors and themes of the 2030 Agenda where it has a comparative advantage and can add value as a global forum for economic cooperation.³⁴

32 European Commission, 'G20 Leaders' Declaration: Shaping an Interconnected World', 8 July 2017, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-17-1960_en.htm, accessed 8 July 2017.

33 UN, 'The Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development', 2015, <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/ffd3/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2015/07/Addis-Ababa-Action-Agenda-Draft-Outcome-Document-7-July-2015.pdf>, accessed 12 September 2017.

34 G20 2016 China, 'G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development', https://www.b20germany.org/fileadmin/user_upload/G20_Action_Plan_on_the_2030_Agenda_for_Sustainable_Development.pdf, accessed 21 September 2017.

There is still a greater role for the group to play with regard to both the governance and the operational levels of implementation of the 2030 Agenda, including in identifying appropriate means for implementing the SDGs in African countries.³⁵ Table 3 shows all of the G20 initiatives that support the SDGs; for example, the G20's focus on supporting industrialisation, especially in Africa and least developed countries (LDCs), contributes towards the SDGs and a revitalised and enhanced global partnership.³⁶ These initiatives will only be effective if they are implemented and monitored as part of the ongoing work of the group. In its pursuit of the G20 agenda, leaders acknowledged that they need to consider the impact of their policies on low-income countries, and that it is important for the G20 to help these countries become active participants in and beneficiaries of the global economic system.³⁷

Table 3 also indicates that the role of gender and the youth continues to be a theme that resonates with the different G20 presidencies. SDG 5 has been included in all the summits from Brisbane to Hamburg, with initiatives focusing on the empowerment of women and girls. The same applies to SDG 10, which advocates for the reduction of inequality between different social groups. The G20 has included initiatives designed to address such inequalities.

TABLE 3 SYNOPSIS OF THE SDGs AND RELATED G20 ACTIVITY				
SDGs AS PROPOSED BY THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT FOR THE UN SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: BRISBANE SUMMIT 2014	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: ANTALYA SUMMIT 2015	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HANGZHOU SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HAMBURG SUMMIT 2017
Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere	Commitment to poverty eradication and development, and to ensure G20 actions contribute to inclusive and sustainable growth in low-income and developing countries	<u>G20 and Low Income Developing Countries Framework</u> Commitment to develop an action plan in 2016 to further align its work with the 2030 Agenda	Endorsement of the outcome of the G20 Agriculture Ministers Meeting <u>Good Practices on Family Farming and Smallholder Agriculture</u>	<u>#eSkills4Girls</u> <u>G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment</u> African Renewable Energy facilitates investment Compact

35 Kloke-Lesch A, *op. cit.*

36 G20 2016 China, *op. cit.*

37 Bradlow D, 'The G-20 and Africa: A Critical Assessment', SAIIA Occasional Paper 145, April 2013.

<p>Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture</p>	<p><u>G20 Food Security and Nutrition Framework</u></p>	<p><u>G20 Action Plan on Food Security and Sustainable Food Systems</u></p>	<p>Commitment to prioritise work on food security, nutrition, and sustainable agricultural growth to contribute to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda</p>	<p>Committed to food security by increasing agricultural productivity resilience in a sustainable manner</p>
<p>Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages</p>	<p><u>G20 Leaders' Brisbane Statement on Ebola</u></p>	<p>Recognition of the importance of global health risks such as antimicrobial resistance (AMR), infectious disease threats and weak health systems</p>	<p>Commitment to fight AMR</p>	<p>Commitment to fight AMR</p>
<p>Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all</p>	<p>G20 employment plans include investments in apprenticeships, education and training</p>	<p><u>G20 Policy Priorities on Labour Income Share and Inequalities</u></p>	<p><u>Sustainable Wage Policy Principles</u> <u>G20 Entrepreneurship Action Plan</u> <u>G20 Initiative to Promote Quality Apprenticeship</u></p>	<p><u>Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative</u> <u>G20 Africa Partnership: #eSkills4Girls</u></p>
<p>Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls</p>	<p>Agreement to the goal of reducing the gap in participation rates between men and women in G20 countries by 25% by 2025</p>	<p>Monitoring progress in reducing the gender gap in labour force participation</p>	<p><u>G20 2016 Innovation Action Plan</u> <u>G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialisation in Africa and LDCs</u></p>	<p>Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative #eSkills4Girls African Renewable Energy and facilitates investment Compacts</p>
<p>Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all</p>	<p>Not covered in Brisbane</p>	<p>Not covered in Antalya</p>	<p><u>G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development</u></p>	<p>Commitment to protect, manage and use efficiently water and water-related ecosystems</p>

SDGs AS PROPOSED BY THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT FOR THE UN SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: BRISBANE SUMMIT 2014	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: ANTALYA SUMMIT 2015	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HANGZHOU SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HAMBURG SUMMIT 2017
<p>Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all</p>	<p><u>G20 Principles on Energy Collaboration</u></p> <p><u>G20 Energy Sustainability Working Group 2014 Co-chairs Report</u></p>	<p><u>G20 Energy Access Action Plan: Voluntary Collaboration on Energy Access</u></p> <p><u>G20 Toolkit of Voluntary Options for Renewable Energy Deployment</u></p>	<p>G20 Voluntary Collaboration Action Plan on Energy Access</p> <p><u>G20 Voluntary Action Plan on Renewable Energy</u></p> <p><u>G20 Energy Efficiency Leading Programme</u></p>	<p><u>Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth</u></p>
<p>Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all</p>	<p>Commitment to act together to lift growth and create jobs</p> <p>Commitment to build a stronger, more resilient global economy</p> <p><u>Brisbane Action Plan for Growth</u></p> <p>G20 members' country employment plans</p>	<p><u>G20 Framework on Promoting Quality Jobs</u></p> <p><u>G20 Skills Strategy</u></p> <p><u>The Contribution of Labour Mobility to Economic Growth</u></p> <p><u>The Labour Share in G20 Economies Enhancing Policy Coherence between the G20 Growth Strategies and Employment Plans</u></p> <p><u>G20 National Employment Plans: Proposed Self-Reporting Template</u></p> <p><u>G20 Labour Markets in 2015: Strengthening the Link between Growth and Employment</u></p> <p><u>Income Inequality and Labour Income Share in G20 Countries: Trends, Impacts and Causes</u></p>	<p><u>Hangzhou Action Plan</u></p> <p>G20 Entrepreneurship Action Plan</p> <p><u>G20 Initiative to Promote Quality Apprenticeship</u></p> <p><u>G20 High-Level Principles on Cooperation on Persons Sought for Corruption and Asset Recovery</u></p> <p><u>G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan</u></p>	<p>G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment</p> <p>G20 Africa Partnership – Pillar on Improving Inclusive Economic Growth and Employment</p>

<p>Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation</p>	<p><u>Global Infrastructure Initiative</u> <u>Global Infrastructure Hub</u></p>	<p>Global Infrastructure Hub</p>	<p><u>G20 Blueprint on Innovative Growth</u> <u>G20 Task Force</u> G20 2016 Innovation Action Plan <u>MDBs' Joint Declaration of Aspirations on Actions to Support Infrastructure Investment</u> <u>Global Infrastructure Connectivity Alliance Initiative</u> <u>G20/OECD Guidance Note on Diversification of Financial Instruments for Infrastructure and SMEs</u> <u>Global Infrastructure Hub Report on Annotated Public-Private Partnership Risk Allocation Matrices</u></p>	<p><u>Hamburg Action Plan</u> G20 Africa Partnership</p>
<p>Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries</p>	<p><u>G20 Plan to Facilitate Remittance Flows</u> <u>2014 Financial Inclusion Action Plan</u></p>	<p><u>Inequality in G20 Countries: Causes, Impacts and Policy Responses</u> G20 and Low Income Developing Countries Framework</p>	<p><u>Hangzhou Action Plan</u></p>	<p>#eSkills4Girls G20 Initiative on Rural Youth Employment African Renewable Energy and facilitates investment Compacts</p>
<p>Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable</p>	<p>Not covered in Brisbane</p>	<p>Not covered in Antalya</p>	<p>G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and LDCs</p>	<p><u>Hamburg Update: Taking Forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda</u></p>

SDGs AS PROPOSED BY THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT FOR THE UN SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: BRISBANE SUMMIT 2014	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: ANTALYA SUMMIT 2015	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HANGZHOU SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HAMBURG SUMMIT 2017
<p>Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns</p>	<p><u>Action Plan for Voluntary Collaboration on Energy Efficiency</u></p>	<p><u>Report on G20 Deployment of Renewable Energy</u></p> <p><u>Report on the G20 Energy Efficiency Action Plan: Voluntary Collaboration on Energy Efficiency</u></p> <p>2015 Outcomes of Work Streams</p> <p><u>Voluntary Energy Efficiency Investment Principles for G20 Participating Countries</u></p> <p><u>Update on Recent Progress in Reform of Inefficient Fossil Fuel Subsidies that Encourage Wasteful Consumption</u></p>	<p>G20 Energy Efficiency Leading Programme</p>	<p><u>G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue</u></p>
<p>Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts</p>	<p>G20 Climate Finance Study Group – Report to Ministers</p>	<p>G20 Toolkit of Voluntary Options for Renewable Energy Deployment</p> <p><u>Toolkit to Enhance Access to Adaptation Finance for Developing Countries that are Vulnerable to the Adverse Effects of Climate Change, Including Low-Income and Developing Countries (LIDCs), Small Island Developing States and African States, OECD in Collaboration with the Global Environment Facility</u></p>	<p><u>Presidency Statement on Climate Change at the G20 Sherpa Meeting</u></p>	<p><u>Climate and Energy Action Plan for Growth</u></p>

<p>Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development</p>	<p>Not covered in Brisbane</p>	<p>Not covered in Antalya</p>	<p>G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development</p>	<p>Hamburg Update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda The G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue <u>The G20 Marine Litter Action Plan</u></p>
<p>Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss</p>	<p>Not covered in Brisbane</p>	<p>Not covered in Antalya</p>	<p>G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development</p>	<p>Hamburg Update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda</p>
<p>Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels</p>	<p>G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan <u>G20/OECD Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) Action Plan</u> to Modernize International Tax Rules <u>G20 High-Level Principles on Beneficial Ownership Transparency</u></p>	<p>2015–2016 G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan <u>G20 High-Level Principles on Integrity and Transparency in the Private Sector</u> G20 Anti-Corruption Open Data Principles <u>G-20 Principles for Promoting Integrity in Public Procurement</u></p>	<p>G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan for 2017–2018</p>	<p>High Level Principles on Organizing against Corruption <u>High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs</u></p>

SDGs AS PROPOSED BY THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT FOR THE UN SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: BRISBANE SUMMIT 2014	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: ANTALYA SUMMIT 2015	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HANGZHOU SUMMIT	SDG-RELATED G20 ACTIVITIES: HAMBURG SUMMIT 2017
Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development	Strengthening global institutions <u>2014 Accountability Assessment Report</u> <u>Development Working Group Accountability Framework</u>	<u>Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion</u> <u>G20 Call on Inclusive Business</u>	G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development	Hamburg Update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda

Source: Updated by authors from the original table by Kloke-Lesch A, 'The G20 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): Reflections on Future Roles and Tasks', Prepared for the Third Annual G20 Think Tank Summit, 2015

THE G20's DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

While the G20 agenda has expanded and sees some variance from year to year, the group still adheres to a core focus on strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth. In terms of development issues, the G20 also has a level of continuity through the work of the DWG and its commitment to infrastructure, which has continued over several presidencies. The DWG was designed to tackle issues and elaborate on measures that promote economic growth and resilience. Thus, the approach was formulated around certain principles, including:

- consistency with the G20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth, as inclusive sustainable and resilient growth is crucial to reduce poverty;
- a single formula for success, to engage with developing countries as partners;
- to prioritise global and regional systemic issues that call for collective action, including South–South and triangular cooperation;
- to recognise the role of the private sector in economic development and job creation, and to support actions to improve the investment environment;
- to add value and not duplicate existing efforts; and
- to focus on tangible outcomes that remove blockages to growth, especially in LICs.³⁸

38 Grant Makokera C, *op. cit.*

Following the above principles, initially, a more detailed agenda for the DWG was agreed in the form of the Seoul Declaration and Multi-Year Action Plan.³⁹ The plan set out concrete actions and outcomes to be delivered and developed over the medium term, covering nine main issues:⁴⁰

- infrastructure;
- human resource development;
- trade;
- private investment and job creation;
- food security;
- growth with resilience;
- financial inclusion;
- domestic resource mobilisation; and
- knowledge sharing.

The above agenda set the tone for the G20 meetings following Seoul. Table 4 summarises subsequent G20 summits' key outcomes on development issues (it is an updated version of the previous analysis done by SAIIA).⁴¹ The analysis shows that over the last two years there has arguably been a greater focus on Africa in the development discussions of the G20, including through the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialisation in Africa and Least Developed Countries adopted in Hangzhou in 2016 and the G20 Africa Partnership in Hamburg in 2017. At the same time the SDGs were also incorporated into the G20 work programme, as explained above. The following two sections look at the presidencies of China and Germany in more detail.

TABLE 4 G20 DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AND KEY OUTCOMES

G20 PRESIDENCY/ DATE	PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	KEY OUTCOMES
France Cannes Summit 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food security • Infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st Ministerial Meeting on Development • Multilateral Development Bank's Action Plan • Bill Gates' Input on Alternative Sources of Development Financing • Launch of the Agricultural Market Information System

39 OECD, 'Seoul Declaration and Multi-Year Action Plan', <https://www.oecd.org/G-20/topics/development/Annex2-Multi-Year-Action-Plan-Development.pdf>, accessed 12 September 2017.

40 OECD, G-20 Seoul Summit 2010, 'Multi-Year Action Plan on Development', <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2010/g20seoul-development.html>, accessed 16 November 2017.

41 Grant Makokera C, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

G20 PRESIDENCY/ DATE	PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	KEY OUTCOMES
Mexico Los Cabos Summit November 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food security • Infrastructure • Inclusive green growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade ministers meeting • Outreach to civil society and the private sector • Ongoing interactions with other international organisations active in development, e.g. Commonwealth Secretariat, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie • Social Protection Inter-Agency Cooperation Board • Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion
Russia St Petersburg Summit November 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food security • Infrastructure • Financial inclusion • Human resource development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiated assessment and accountability process • DWG Accountability Report 2013 found that out of 67 commitments, 33 were complete, 33 were ongoing and one had stalled. • On-going outreach to non-members and civil society
Australia Brisbane Summit November 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy coherence between the DWG work on taxation, investment in infrastructure, anti-corruption, employment, energy and trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan • G20 Plan to Facilitate Remittance Flows • Global Infrastructure Initiative • Global Infrastructure Hub • G20 Food Security and Nutrition Framework • Agreed criteria in order to frame new commitments and reassess and address commitments identified as stalled or as having made mixed progress • G20 Development Commitments Monitor indicated of the 45 commitments, 33 were completed, 10 were on track and two were redirected • Support to SDG process
Turkey Antalya Summit November 2015	<p>Focus on taking forward the DWG agenda (domestic resource mobilisation, financial inclusion and remittances, food security and nutrition, human resource development and infrastructure), aiming to ensure greater relevance to countries not part of the group, in particular LIDCs. Agenda is summarised as focusing on inclusiveness, implementation and investment (three 'Is')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turkish presidency introduced new work stream on inclusive business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Inaugural Caribbean Region Dialogue with the G20 DWG was held – key focus on Blue economy and strengthening domestic resource mobilisation • The theme of 'buttressing sustainability': To buttress sustainability in the global economy by focusing on the issues of development, energy and climate change finance. The main focus being lifting prosperity across the globe, with a particular focus on supporting efforts to eradicate poverty and ensure sustainable development in LIDCs.

<p>China Hangzhou Summit 2016</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Robust international trade and investment – open multilateral trade system • Promoting growth, effective and efficient global economic and financial governance • Inclusive and interconnected development • Implementation of sustainable development and climate change • Migration and refugee crisis • Anti-terrorism (fight terrorism in all its forms) • Health (especially antimicrobial resistance) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade and Investment Working Group for inclusive growth of trade and sustainable development • G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialisation in Africa and Least Developed Countries
<p>Germany Hamburg Summit July 2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building resilience • Improving sustainability • Assuming responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaffirmation of the Paris Agreement • G20 Africa Partnership: The G20 Compact Initiative • Affirmation and support of international trade • Roadmap for digitalisation • Support for the 2030 Agenda • Fighting pandemics and antimicrobials • Fighting terrorism • Support for women entrepreneurs in developing countries • Addressing the root causes of displacement

Source: Updated by authors from Grant Makokera C, 'G20 Development Agenda and African Priorities: An Update', SAIIA Occasional Paper, 227, 2016.

HANGZHOU SUMMIT 2016: PRIORITIES AND OBJECTIVES

At the Hangzhou Summit held in 2016, the G20 leaders adopted a communiqué focused on issues ranging from strengthening the G20 growth agenda to pursuing innovative growth measures and policies. The main objectives of the Hangzhou Summit were promoting growth, economic and financial governance, and inclusive and interconnected development. Other priorities included supporting an open multilateral trade system, the implementation of the SDGs and efforts to tackle climate change. Migration and the refugee crisis also featured in G20 discussions, given the global pressure in this regard in 2016. The China presidency also mentioned the importance of fighting terrorism in all its forms and called for awareness on global health concerns.

Regarding African issues specifically, the Hangzhou Summit launched the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and LDCs to strengthen growth and development potential through voluntary policy options aimed at promoting inclusive and sustainable structural transformation, agri-business and agro-industry development, and resilient infrastructure and industries; leveraging domestic and external finance; and supporting equitable access to finance. The main objective of the initiative is to use industrial development as a driving force to meet the SDGs by 2030 by eliminating poverty, creating wealth through increased economic integration and productivity, and boosting capacity for inclusive development. The Hangzhou Summit also committed to supporting small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

The 2016 summit saw the establishment of the G20 Action Plan, where members committed to contribute to the agenda through 'collective and individual efforts at home and abroad with a focus on sectors and themes of the Agenda where the G20 has comparative advantage and can add value as a global forum for economic cooperation'.⁴² The G20 Action Plan was drafted by Sherpas and the DWG. Kloke-Lesch argued in a 2015 article that the implementation of the SDGs was important not just for low-income countries but also for all G20 members.⁴³ This seems to have been taken on board and the annex to the action plan includes information from G20 members to show how sustainable development will be integrated into national plans and international development assistance.⁴⁴

In order to support the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, the DWG was mandated to act as a forum for sustainable development dialogue between G20 members, LDCs, development stakeholders and the G20 engagement groups, and to facilitate mutual learning and exchange of experiences and good practices among G20 members on their respective national actions for sustainable development. The DWG is required to conduct annual progress reports and a Comprehensive Accountability Report every three years in order to measure progress against these goals. This is in line with its mandate, which continues to the next summit in Hamburg under the German presidency.

HAMBURG SUMMIT 2017: PRIORITIES AND OBJECTIVES

The German G20 presidency was characterised by three main themes: building resilience, assuming responsibility and improving sustainable livelihoods. The German presidency invited Norway, the Netherlands and Singapore as partner countries to the G20 process, as well as the AU, represented by Guinea; the

42 Dongxiao C *et al.*, 'Implementation of the 2030 Agenda by G-20 Members: How to Address the Transformative and Integrated Character of the SDGs by Individual and Collective Action', G20 Insights, http://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/implementation-2030-agenda-g20-members-address-transformative-integrated-character-sdgs-individual-collective-action/, accessed 16 August 2017.

43 Kloke-Lesch A, *op. cit.*

44 *Ibid.*

AsiaPacific Economic Cooperation, represented by Vietnam; and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), represented by Senegal.

TABLE 5 PRIORITIES OF THE G20 SUMMIT 2017

Building resilience	Improving sustainability	Assuming responsibility
World economy	Climate and energy	Tackling the causes of displacement
Trade and investment	2030 Agenda	Partnership with Africa
Employment	Digitalisation	Fighting terrorism
International tax corporation	Global health	Anti-corruption
	Empowering women	

Source: G 20 Summit, Hamburg Update, 'Taking Forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development', <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000272300.pdf>, accessed 16 November 2017

One of the main outcomes of the German presidency was the launch of the G20 Africa Partnership to strengthen the G20's cooperation with the continent. The G20 Africa Partnership was launched in recognition of the opportunities and challenges in African countries as well as the importance of achieving the goals of the 2030 Agenda.⁴⁵ There are three key pillars to the partnership:

- improving inclusive economic growth and employment;
- developing quality infrastructure, especially in the energy sector; and
- strengthening the framework for private finance under the Compact with Africa (CwA).

The partnership includes related initiatives, such as #eSkills4Girls, rural youth employment, African renewable energy and investment compacts. However, some of these initiatives are not new but form part of pre-existing G20 developmental projects, including the Initiative for Rural Youth Employment and initiatives for female entrepreneurs in developing countries. These are crucial in that they are in line with the goal of not leaving anyone behind, particularly marginalised and vulnerable groups such as the youth and women.

Equally important is the inclusion of initiatives that focus specifically on gender and inequality, as set out in SDG 5. At the Hamburg Summit the German presidency launched initiatives that promote opportunities and equitable participation for women and girls in the digital economy. #eSkills4Girls is targeted at closing the digital gender divide in LIDCs, including Africa. The Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative (We-Fi) is designed to support women on the African continent.

45 G20 Germany 2017, *op. cit.*

The CwA was introduced in the Finance track by the German presidency during the Hamburg Summit. It aims to foster close relations with individual African countries by promoting private investment and the efficient use of public funding, and closing the investment gap in infrastructure to address unemployment on the continent. The compact forms part of the overall project proposed by Germany's development ministry called the Marshall Plan with Africa, which sets out in detail a new relationship with Africa.⁴⁶ (In line with this plan the German presidency also introduced the G20 Africa Partnership, mentioned previously.)⁴⁷ Other CwA implementation partners are the African Development Bank, the IMF and the World Bank.

Under the terms of the CwA, individual African countries are required to reform their governance and, in turn, will receive support from the G20 member states, the World Bank, IMF and the African Development Bank. Germany's Ministry of Finance announced that some African states – Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Morocco, Rwanda, Senegal and Tunisia – have already committed to the compact and have put forward their individual priorities.

Prior to the G20 Summit in Hamburg, participants in the Think 20 (T20), the Business 20 (B20), the Civil 20 (C20) and the Labour 20 (L20) made several concrete suggestions on ways in which the G20 could promote the implementation of the SDGs. At the T20, Dongxiao *et al.*⁴⁸ suggested three broad areas where the G20 could contribute to SDGs and specify its mandate to be a forum for sustainable development:

- mainstreaming;
- partnerships; and
- building capacity/sharing experiences.

These ideas were reflected in parts of the outcomes of the Hamburg Summit, including the Declaration, the G20 Africa Partnership and the Hamburg Update: Taking Forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda.⁴⁹ Table 6 links the proposals from the T20 to these documents, thus highlighting those recommendations that could be considered for future action by the G20 under the agenda on sustainable development (in italics). In the recommendations section below a number of the T20's proposals that are worth pursuing, as they are in line with the broader African development agenda, are highlighted for further consideration by the G20.

46 Green A, 'Germany's Marshall Plan with Africa', Devex, 29 May 2017, <https://www.devex.com/news/germany-s-marshall-plan-with-africa-90152>, accessed 21 September 2017.

47 Germany, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 'G20 Africa Partnership', https://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales_downloadarchiv/G-20/2017_03_Fact_Sheet_G-20_Africa_Partnership.pdf, accessed 21 September 2017.

48 Dongxiao C *et al.*, *op. cit.*

49 G20, 'Hamburg Update: Taking Forward the G-20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda', https://www.G-20.org/Content/DE/_Anlagen/G7_G-20/2017-G-20-hamburg-upade-en.html, accessed 16 November 2017.

TABLE 6 PRIORITIES T20 TASK FORCE AGENDA AND G20 DECLARATION AND OUTCOMES

T20 TASK FORCE AGENDA ON 2030 AGENDA FOR SDGs	G20 DECLARATION AND OTHER OUTCOMES
Proposal 1: Intensify and facilitate the mainstreaming of SDGs	Hamburg update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: G20 collective actions are framed around Sustainable Development Sectors and are intended to be updated and adapted to reflect successive G20 presidency priorities, emerging needs, lessons and challenges
<i>Adopt a whole-of-government approach</i>	<i>Not included</i>
Pursue the systemic alignment of strategies	Hamburg update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda: Guided by each presidency, we will continue to take forward the Action Plan by agreeing upon and implementing comprehensive and concrete collective actions
Achieve cohesion between G20 collective action and national policies	G20 declaration: The G20 Resource Efficiency Dialogue will exchange good practices and national experiences to improve the efficiency and sustainability of natural resource use across the entire life cycle, and to promote sustainable consumption and production patterns
Proposal 2: Build dynamic and enduring partnerships between all stakeholders	G20 declaration: We call on countries to work with stakeholders to strive towards its ambitious and integrated implementation and timely realisation in accordance with national circumstances
Establish innovative and effective partnerships	G20 Africa Partnership: The partnership intends to support related political initiatives of the G20 and facilitate joint commitments (investment compacts) between African countries, G20 partners and international financial institutions
Work on a common understanding of common but differentiated responsibilities 2.0	Mentioned briefly in the Hamburg update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda: We are committed to choosing from all policy tools collectively and individually to achieve this goal, according to national capabilities
Proposal 3: Build up a framework and institutional capacities for SDG implementation	Hamburg update: Taking forward the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda: The action plan, including the high-level principles, contributes to the global efforts for the successful implementation of the 2030 Agenda, comprising the 17 SDGs and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on Financing for Development
<i>Raise public awareness on the SDGs</i>	<i>Not mentioned</i>
<i>Introduce a timetable for national plans</i>	<i>Not included</i>
<i>Elaborate a comparable review approach</i>	<i>Not included</i>

T20 TASK FORCE AGENDA ON 2030 AGENDA FOR SDGS	G20 DECLARATION AND OTHER OUTCOMES
Build an evaluation agenda	Hamburg update: Taking forward the G20Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda: No evaluation agenda but rather every G20 work stream remains responsible for implementing and tracking collective commitments within its remit (this list can serve as an up-to-date reference for future update reports)
<i>Embed the 2030 Agenda in development finance institutions</i>	<i>Not directly addressed</i>
Support and reform the UN development system	G20 declaration: We support the central role of the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development and other key UN processes towards achieving the SDGs

Source: Authors' compilation from G20 Insights, 'Implementation of the 2030 Agenda by G20 Members: How to Address the Transformative and Integrated Character of the SDGs by Individual and Collective Action', 4 May 2017, http://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/implementation-2030-agenda-g20-members-address-transformative-integrated-character-sdgs-individual-collective-action/, accessed 16 November 2017

The B20 made several recommendations for each SDG outlined in the 2030 Agenda. These include enhancing responsible business conduct in infrastructure projects, strengthening an open and inclusive trading system, making use of digital trade's potential, curtailing climate change, boosting infrastructure finance, and advancing resource and energy efficiency. Some of these recommendations are reflected in the Hamburg Summit, notably on climate change and infrastructure investment.

The C20 made recommendations mainly in the areas of agriculture and food security, global health (AMR resistance), water and environment, inequality, gender and social protection, reform of the international financial system, investment and the private sector, climate and energy. In the outcomes of the Hamburg Summit these recommendations resonate particularly in the commitment to fight AMR, initiatives on energy efficiency and initiatives on gender, such as the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative.

The L20 made labour-related recommendations to the G20. It recommended the alignment of G20 policies with the 2030 Agenda, such as operationalising the G20 Action Plan, in particular in terms of 'human resources development and employment', which covers SDGs 4 (education), 5 (gender equality) and 8 (decent work for all).⁵⁰

50 ITUC (International Trade Union Confederation), 'L20 Priority Recommendations: G20 Germany Presidency, 2017', https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/l20_priority_recommendations_2017.pdf, accessed 22 September 2017.

CASE STUDY UPDATE: INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Infrastructure is a key element in sustainable development, unlocking productive sectors of economies, increasing trade and ensuring greater access for landlocked countries, among others.⁵¹ The Hamburg Summit identified private sector investment and infrastructure development as key instruments to bring about change in socio-economic structures. The G20 Africa Partnership highlighted the need for joint measures to enhance sustainable infrastructure and consequently committed 'to align our joint measures with regional strategies and priorities, in particular, the African Union's Agenda 2063 and its Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA)'.⁵² The AU and its specialised agency, NEPAD, are important partners in the implementation and monitoring of the partnership. This project will be implemented through the CwA.

While the CwA is comprehensive and looks good on paper, there are some red flags concerning the initiative that have resulted in general scepticism regarding its implementation. Firstly, African countries were barely involved in shaping the agreement.⁵³ As an initiative for Africa, it would have been useful to give the relevant beneficiaries a seat at the table. This would have enabled consultations with the relevant stakeholders, which are crucial and go toward legitimising the initiative. Many infrastructure projects – from country to continental level – have been launched in Africa and the harmonisation of some of those projects would have been a step in the right direction. From an African perspective, a complementary approach to those frameworks that African governments have already endorsed would thus have been preferable.⁵⁴

Secondly, the CwA envisages huge and expensive infrastructure projects, with hopes that the private sector will serve as the backbone of the initiative. Questions have arisen over whether such an approach is suitable for Africa for several reasons, including most governments' lack of capacity to deal with large infrastructure contracts, the sustainability of such projects in environmental and economic terms, and the lack of policy continuation owing to 'intergovernmental disease'.⁵⁵ Finally, the nature of private investment entails yielding good returns on that investment. Without that guarantee, investors are unlikely to invest because the general assumption is that positive returns are unrealistic, especially in poor African

51 Grant Makokera C, *op. cit.*

52 G20 Germany 2017, *op. cit.*

53 South Africa is the only permanent African member and the AU was only invited at a late stage. Other African countries were not consulted. Kappel R & H Reisen, 'G20 summit: Africa's loss', *International Politics and Society*, 14 July 2017, <http://www.ips-journal.eu/regions/africa/article/show/g20-summit-africas-loss-2167/>, accessed 14 July 2017.

54 Kappel R & H Reisen, 'The G20 "Compact with Africa": Unsuitable for African Low-Income Countries', Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, June 2017, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/13441.pdf>, accessed 29 June 2017.

55 Cancellation of a previous government's policies by the incoming government.

countries. As such, there is still a need for subsidies and safeguards.⁵⁶ In the end, it all boils down to the private sector's risk–reward calculation and the need to tip the balance in favour of investment through shifts that ensure that the project in question is attractive and viable.

The macroeconomic framework of the CwA has also been criticised for its shortcomings. The agenda does not adequately reflect major African challenges – lack of jobs, poverty, insufficiently integrated economies, and low levels of industrialisation.⁵⁷ The initiative has been described as short sighted in that it fails to consider the differences between African states. It does not distinguish between emerging economies and conflict-ridden countries that export and import raw materials; between coastal states and landlocked countries; between states in West Africa and East Africa; or between nations that are heavily indebted and those that are not.⁵⁸ The CwA also fails to consider certain linkages – between the public sector, education, agriculture and industry – that are crucial for development. Implementation can only be effective if all these factors are considered and the implementation process coordinated with African states.

Infrastructure is now firmly entrenched in the work of the AU and African RECs as a key pillar of regional economic integration. Yet there is no specific G20 agenda on regional economic integration and even the discussions on trade policy have largely been limited to support for the WTO (the notable exception being the discussions on global value chains during the Mexican presidency in 2012).⁵⁹ The Chinese and German presidencies did not include regional economic integration on the agenda in any specific terms. This gap was identified in the original ODI and SAIIA research on the G20 and Africa. It was suggested then that including regional economic integration in the work of the DWG would aid in tackling existing challenges in Africa through increased intra-regional trade. Furthermore, subregional institutions in Africa need to be strengthened to become more effective in promoting inclusive economic development. The G20 could advance regional integration policies in Africa by supporting measures that encourage intra-regional trade on the continent and liaising with African RECs to help them identify and remove intra-regional trade barriers such as non-tariff barriers.⁶⁰

Africa has adopted a developmental approach to regional integration that includes three pillars – market access, infrastructure and industrialisation – as reflected in the design of the Tripartite Free Trade Area. Considering a possible role for the G20 to support integration through this lens, it would not be appropriate for the group to be involved in market access negotiations. However, there is considerable scope to align G20 activities on infrastructure and industrialisation with African integration

56 Kappel R & H Reisen, June 2017, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

58 *Ibid.*

59 Grant Makokera C, *op. cit.*

60 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

initiatives. This is already done in relation to infrastructure, where priority projects under PIDA are endorsed by the G20. African participants in the G20 could motivate for continued commitment to the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and LDCs. For example, there is clear alignment between the promotion of the agro-processing sector in Africa and its participation in cross-border supply chains. The G20, perhaps through its sub-structures such as the B20, could facilitate interaction between multinational corporations involved in this sector with African producers to identify both blockages and opportunities to pursue this objective.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the shortfalls of the G20, there are some benefits that can be gained from this institution by developing countries and Africa. This will be especially the case if the G20 is able to provide additional support for the implementation of the SDGs (and connected Agenda 2063 aspirations), including through identifying appropriate means of implementation and ongoing monitoring of relevant commitments. National work plans that are developed by governments should be aligned with the SDGs, which could provide the context for the overall approach adopted by the G20 at the international level. The following are specific recommendations for consideration by South Africa and other G20 members. They draw upon the proposals put forward in past research as well as those suggested by participants in the T20 process that have not yet been taken up by the G20.

- African countries should ensure that their representation in G20 processes via the AU Commission and NEPAD is appropriately supported and resourced. The inclusion of these two institutions in G20 activities presents an opportunity for countries on the continent to increase their understanding of and representation in G20 debates.
- SDG 17 demands that all countries and stakeholders (private sector, civil society organisations and academia) work together to implement the 2030 Agenda and its SDGs.⁶¹ This is in line with the theme of not leaving anyone behind, which means that vulnerable and disadvantaged groups get to be involved in the process. As the 2030 Agenda and the 17 SDGs are interlinked, an integrated approach to implementation and cross-sectoral and multi-stakeholder partnerships at every level are required for achieving the SDGs.⁶² This would involve national governments engaging in multi-stakeholder partnerships, including public-private partnerships. The AU and NEPAD could enhance their participation in the G20 on development issues by promoting such stakeholder engagements at the African level in the first instance.
- There is significant overlap between G20 initiatives, particularly the DWG; Agenda 2063; and the SDGs. It would be useful for African participants in the G20 to consider these areas of overlap and prioritise those particular issues where

61 Dongxiao C *et al.*, *op. cit.*

62 *Ibid.*

the G20 can add value in support of the African development agenda, such as food security, regional infrastructure development and access to energy. For example, this was successfully done and is reflected in the G20 Initiative Supporting Industrialisation in Africa and LDCs. Here the G20 offered concrete support in an area that is a priority at AU and REC level. The ongoing work of the G20 on infrastructure financing is another area where African participation is critical. A focused list that includes three to five priorities would assist African participants, including South Africa, in their ongoing participation in G20 activities.

- Implementation of G20 commitments that support the SDGs and African development is crucial if the potential benefits of the plans already put in place are to be realised. Africa could participate in the active monitoring of the implementation of the G20 Initiative Supporting Industrialisation in Africa

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and LDCs, the G20 Africa Partnership and the G20 Action Plan, among others. Initiatives such as the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative will require adequate resourcing by G20 members if they are to meet their goals, which are aligned to the SDGs and Agenda 2063.

- One of the glaring challenges is the absence of linkages between the various G20 initiatives for Africa. This calls for further work to bridge the gap between existing initiatives and to build linkages across different initiatives. Regular rationalisation, alignment and monitoring of initiatives for Africa are required. This is an activity that could be pursued by South Africa, the AU Commission and NEPAD as part of their coordination of positions for G20 engagements. For example, the African participants could set a regular agenda for their preparatory engagements before G20 meetings that enables them to check progress against these agreed priority initiatives.
- Another aspect of SDG monitoring that could be undertaken by the G20 is encouraging international finance institutions to embed the SDGs in their work. This was proposed by the T20 and would be useful in terms of ensuring a proper alignment of the SDGs with the finance and development assistance available at the global level for their implementation. G20 governments could coordinate their policies with financial institutions to establish a common approach for the implementation of the SDGs, as well as to promote knowledge sharing and identify best practices.⁶³
- In the original work by the ODI and SAIIA, it was recommended that the G20 should promote capital flows from surplus countries to profitable opportunities

63 *Ibid.*

in sustainable infrastructure and climate finance. This has become even more relevant in the context of the SDG agenda and is worth advocating again. For example, this could be linked to the activities of the CwA, to encourage the allocation of private investment in this direction.

- While the success of the SDGs will depend on the ability of countries to implement them at a national level, there are significant constraints in African countries with regard to the resources available to deliver on implementation. Here the G20 could help identify and support appropriate means of implementation, including the mobilisation of domestic and private resources as well as official development assistance for the poorest and most vulnerable countries. Other non-financial resources will be equally important, such as trade, science, technology, innovation and capacity building.
- An additional way to implement the 2030 Agenda would be through raising awareness of SDGs among the broader population at the national level, as well as among specific stakeholder groups that can assist with implementation, such as private investors. The G20 annual summit provides a particularly high-profile event at the global level to draw attention to the SDGs, and this could be better utilised as a way to increase awareness.

Kloke-Lesch⁶⁴ made a number of general recommendations for the G20 on its engagements with the SDGs. A number of these are particularly relevant from an African perspective and could be usefully pursued by South Africa and other members:

- Establishing a peer learning process on the implementation of SDGs. This already exists to a certain extent for members of the G20 and could be usefully supported for African countries, perhaps through the AU and NEPAD's participation. The peer process would draw lessons from other G20 peer reviews and the implementation would be done at the national level by individual countries.
- Reconfiguring the DWG to ensure greater participation and representation of LDCs and LICs. They would focus on the implementation of SDGs and identify target areas for policy coherence.
- Setting up a G20 dialogue platform on inequality under the DWG to examine the linkages between implementation challenges of the SDGs and rising levels of inequality in many countries. This platform would also explore potential solutions in dealing with the challenge of inequality.
- Linking infrastructure activities supported by the G20 with sustainable development objectives. Through this initiative, the G20 could provide the necessary leadership in infrastructure development strategies designed to bridge the infrastructure gap while incorporating sustainable development factors.

South Africa on its own could identify focus areas (particularly the 17 SDGs) and establish realistic and achievable goals in those areas, including ones that could be

64 Kloke-Lesch A, *op. cit.*

supported by the G20. These areas should be prioritised and reflected in national work plans that are coherent and comprehensive policies for the implementation of SDGs and the 2030 Agenda. Identifying and prioritising focus areas will allow South Africa to focus on tangible goals that can be easily implemented. Furthermore, South Africa should continue with a balanced approach to the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental) and specify contributions towards both the environmental and the social dimension (as recommended in the joint statement for open and inclusive societies by the chairs of all G20 engagement groups).⁶⁵ The implementation actions of the 2030 Agenda can be at an individual country level or a collective (group of countries) level, depending on the prospects of achieving those goals.

CONCLUSION

The G20 has been labelled 'a necessary evil that we must tolerate, at least until the international community agrees to create more inclusive and effective global governance arrangements'.⁶⁶ There is no doubt that the engagement between Africa and the G20 needs to be balanced, in order to level the playing field. Furthermore, G20 members need to uphold their commitments towards implementing the 2030 Agenda both at the national level and through their international development

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assistance programmes. These commitments need to be transformed into tangible plans with implementation targets. While the 2030 Agenda is driven by the UN, G20 members can contribute to its implementation. To achieve this, concrete SDG measures need to be taken at the national level. This will require coordination between governments and other stakeholders such as civil society organisations, international organisations, the private sector and financial institutions.

65 DIE (German Development Institute), 'G20 Engagement Groups: Statement for Open and Inclusive Societies', February 2017, https://www.die-gdi.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdfs/dauerthemen_spezial/G20_Engagement_Groups_Statement_for_Open_and_Inclusive_Societies_final_16.02.2017.pdf, accessed 13 July 2017.

66 Bradlow D, 'The G20: A necessary evil that can deliver some benefits', *The Conversation*, 20 March 2017, <https://theconversation.com/the-g-20-a-necessary-evil-that-can-deliver-some-benefits-74575>, accessed 12 June 2017.



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