



International Symposium

EU-Africa Relations in the 21st Century

University of Glasgow
11 December 2009



The event is free to the public.

For information, contact the organiser, Dr. Maurizio Carbone, at: M.Carbone@lbs.gla.ac.uk

This symposium is supported by the European Commission's office in Scotland.

PROGRAMME

The symposium will be held in the *Wolfson Medical School Building*, on University Avenue.

ARRIVALS (9:15 – 9:30)

INTRODUCTION (9:30 – 9:50)

- Introductory remarks
Prof. Michael French (Dean, Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences, University of Glasgow)
- Presentation of the symposium
Dr. Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)

I. SETTING THE CONTEXT (9:50 – 11:10)

Chair: *Prof. Noreen Burrows (University of Glasgow)*

Papers:

- The European Union in Africa
Prof. Fredrik Soëderbaum (University of Gothenburg)
- The 'new' Africa in a global context
Prof. Ian Taylor (University of St. Andrews)

Coffee break* (11:10 – 11:30)

II. POLITICAL AFFAIRS (11:30 – 12:50)

Chair: *Prof. Alasdair Young (University of Glasgow)*

Papers:

- The EU and Africa: developing the strategic culture of the Union's foreign, security and defence policy
Prof. Richard Whitman (University of Bath)
- Human rights, democracy and good governance in EU-Africa relations
Prof. Gordon Crawford (University of Leeds)

Lunch break* (12:50 – 1:45)

Salutations: Neil Mitchison (Head, European Commission's Office in Scotland)

III. ECONOMIC RELATIONS

(1:45 – 3:05)

Chair: *Stephanie Switzer (University of Dundee)*

Papers:

- Foreign aid, coordination and ownership in EU-Africa relations
Dr. Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow)
- EU trade policy and Africa: losing friends and failing to influence
Dr. Christopher Stevens (Overseas Development Institute)

Coffee break*

(3:05 – 3:25)

IV. SOCIAL ISSUES

(3:25 – 5:00)

Chair: *Dr. Sara Dorman (University of Edinburgh)*

Papers:

- EU-Africa partnership and climate change
Dr. Simon Lightfoot (University of Leeds)
- The EU-Africa migration partnership: An assessment of African leverage
Dr. Tine Van Criekinge (European University Institute, Florence)
- The EU, Africa and the social dimension of globalisation
Prof. Jan Orbie (Ghent University)

Drinks*

(5:00 – 6:00)

Salutations: Prof. John Briggs (Director, Glasgow Centre for International Development, University of Glasgow)

Dinner*

(6:30 – 9:00)

*Please note that coffee breaks and lunch are open to all participants, whereas drinks and dinners are only for invited guests.

ABSTRACTS

Introduction (9:30 – 9:50)

Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow), Introduction: One Europe, One Africa – Changing Dynamics in EU-Africa relations

The relationship between the European Union (EU) and Africa has gone through significant changes since the beginning of the new century. First, the Cotonou Agreement adopted in June 2000, and revised in 2005, brought major transformations to the longstanding relationship between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of countries, particularly in the areas of trade and foreign aid. Not only did these transformations end a system of preferential treatment, but also contributed to undermining the partnership that had characterized the Lomé Convention. Second, the 2005 EU-Africa Strategy and the 2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy, which followed the first EU-Africa Summit in Cairo in 2000, marked the EU's intention to pursue a 'common' approach towards Africa – under the slogan 'one Europe, one Africa' – and to promote a coherent external policy. Meanwhile, the adoption of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the setting up of the African Union (AU) reassured the international community that African leaders wanted to take ownership of their future. This workshop brings together scholars in the field of EU external relations and African politics. Contributing to the literature of North-South relations, this workshop looks at how the partnership that distinguished the EU's approach to sub-Saharan Africa between the 1960s and 1990s has evolved over the past decade. Contributing to the literature on the EU as a global actor, this workshop assesses the changing dynamics in EU-Africa relations against the broader context of EU external relations. To do so, it examines a number of relevant policies, notably foreign aid, trade, agriculture and fisheries, security, migration, democracy and human rights promotion, climate change, and social policies.

Section I: Setting the context (9:50 – 11:10)

Fredrik Soëderbaum (University of Gothenburg), The European Union in Africa

Following the end of the Cold War, it seemed that the EU and its Member States were losing interest in Africa. At the EC level, the post-Lomé debate and the adoption of the Cotonou Agreement showed that the relationship with the ACP group had become almost 'normal'. At the level of the bilateral policies of the Member States, France, the United Kingdom, and numerous other countries in Europe cut substantially the level of their development programmes. With the beginning of the new century, the collective commitment to double aid to Africa and to enhance its effectiveness, the adoption of the European Consensus on Development, the ambitious agenda on policy coherence for development marked a change in the EU's approach to international development. On the other hand, the process towards a 'common' strategy for Africa, which culminated in the Joint Africa-EU Strategy adopted in Lisbon in December 2007, meant that the EU was trying to play a leading role in the international arena. Africa, therefore, became central not only to the EU's development policy, but, more widely, to its overall external affairs. In this sense, some argue, the attempt of the EU over the past decade to carry out a coherent external policy is a way to hide the

real concerns of the EU, security and migration. Despite the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon confirmed that the two parties were pursuing different goals, the 2007 Joint Africa-EU Strategy seems to go into the right direction, but its implementation is central to understanding whether a new chapter in the EU's external relations has been started.

Ian Taylor (University of St. Andrews), The 'new' Africa in a global context

This paper explores how changes within Africa have influenced the evolution of the EU-Africa relations. At the beginning of the 2000s, a developmental agenda was advanced by leading African elites aimed at revitalising Africa's place in the global political economy. The NEPAD, launched in 2001, was received with considerable enthusiasm in some quarters of the developed world as an African-led initiative that would provide the framework for promoting development in Africa. The African Union (AU), launched in 2002, effectively replacing the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which had been the premier continental organisation in Africa, is an ambitious project, but fraught with all sorts of difficulties. It is difficult, for example, to see how such vitally needed unity could be achieved, given the current tensions that continue to wrack Africa. Both the AU and the NEPAD have been launched at a time when there has been a growing questioning of the basic neo-liberal philosophy that underpins contemporary capitalism, frequently cast within the catch-all term 'globalisation'. Some observers may proffer the view that this juncture opens up space for Africa and that perhaps the AU and the NEPAD may be vehicles to advance this. Such a commitment has been agreed and signed by African elites themselves and there can be no retreat. Even though the AU takes as its departure the European Union as the ultimate end game, it must be seen as an internally originated institution deserving of particular attention and scrutiny. In the same vein however, its commitments need to be measured against actual concrete action rather than accepting at face value the various pronouncements made on extremely important issues.

Section II: Political affairs (11:30 - 12:50)

Richard Whitman (University of Bath), The EU and Sub-Saharan Africa: developing the strategic culture of the Union's Foreign, Security and Defence Policy

The EU's engagement with Sub-Saharan Africa through the panoply of instruments of its CFSP and ESDP have been a characteristic of the development of the Union's foreign, security and defence policies since the 1990s. The EU's policies pursued through the CFSP/ESDP towards Sub-Saharan Africa have played a key role in developing both the *form* of the EU's foreign policy infrastructure and its instruments and, crucially, in the forms of military intervention that the EU has undertaken outside of Europe. This paper uses these developments to advance the argument that Sub-Saharan Africa has provided a crucial component in the evolution of an embryonic strategic culture for the EU. The paper proceeds by examining how the EU has used Sub-Saharan Africa to refine its definition of what constitute security threats, how these threats are seen to be particularly acute on the African continent, and how the EU has used its foreign, security and defence policy interventions on the continent to test and refine its policy instruments. The paper concludes by examining the implications for our understanding of the notion of an EU strategic culture generated by the case study under examination.

Gordon Crawford (University of Leeds), Human rights, democracy and good governance in EU-Africa relations

This contribution traces the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance in EU-Africa relations and their interrelationship with the changing dynamics in EU-Africa relations generally. Although the emergence of such policies can be traced back to the fourth Lomé Convention of 1989, the emphasis here is on developments in the new millennium, notably in the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000-2020), in the EU Strategy for Africa, adopted by the European Council in December 2005, and most significantly in the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) and associated Action Plan adopted at the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon in December 2007. The JAES purports to herald a shift in the political relationship between the EU and Africa to one based on a partnership of equals, with one of the eight thematic partnerships being in the area of 'democratic governance and human rights'. This paper poses two questions, one descriptive and one evaluative. First, what changes has the new emphasis on partnership and ownership introduced into EU-Africa relations in the field of promoting democratic governance and human rights? Second, to what extent have the avowed principles been put into practice? This paper addresses such questions through examining policy implementation in the areas of democratic governance and human rights in the contexts of both JAES activities and EU-Africa development co-operation more generally.

Section III: Economic relations (1:45 – 3:05)

Maurizio Carbone (University of Glasgow), Foreign aid, coordination, and ownership in EU-Africa relations

This article explores the changing aid relationship between the EU and Africa since the beginning the 2000s, emphasising the existence of a paradox: on the one hand, the EU has been obsessed with improving the quality of its foreign aid; on the other hand, it has failed to fully take into account the voice of the recipients in the design of the Country Strategy Papers (CSPs). The failure to promote local ownership may be due to a capacity gap in some African countries, but this article argues that it is due to two interlinked explanations. The first is the excessive preoccupation of the European Commission with showing that it is able to commit and spend money quickly, in response to the continuous threats of aid repatriation by various Member States. The second is that the new emphasis on ensuring increased coordination and complementarity with the Member States results in a reduced space for negotiations with recipient countries. In its relations with the ACP countries, the European Commission had its hands tied not by a mandate of the Member States, but by its past management failures. The European Commission, nevertheless, is an indirect hostage to the Member States, not only because they put pressure to make EU aid more effective, but also because they have not granted additional resources to deal with the increased administrative burden ensuing from the demanding rolling programming.

Christopher Stevens (Overseas Development Institute), EU trade policy and Africa: losing friends and failing to influence

The Lisbon Euro-Africa summit of November 2007 illustrated Europe's difficulty in marrying its rhetorical goal of a strategic partnership with Africa and its trade policy

towards the continent – and Africa’s difficulty in responding. The summit’s lofty aims were lost in band tempered posturing. This arose because looming over the summit was the threat (subsequently carried out) by the European Commission to withdraw trade preferences from any country failing to initial an EPA by the end of the year. This would have devastated the exports of the most vulnerable African countries –most of which did initial, but under protest. The story of the EPAs, which dates from the mid 1990s, is interesting from several perspectives. It originated in adverse judgements by the GATT/WTO over Europe’s trade preferences and the adoption by Europe of ‘the Washington consensus’ (which favoured open trade regimes to promote development). But a particular focus for this chapter will be the lack of effort made by the EU seriously to ‘sell’ the idea to critics and the inability of Africa to produce a coherent response that recognised the very different interests at stake. This chapter will analyse the origin, history and position setting of the negotiating parties, placing this within the context of the economic issues at stake. The aim will be to show how the final result came about and what this may mean for the future of development and regionalism in Africa and of Euro-African relations.

Section IV: Social issues (3:25 – 5:00)

Simon Lightfoot (University of Leeds), Climate Change and the EU-Africa Strategy

Relations between the EU and Africa around the issue of climate change are crucial for a number of reasons. Firstly, climate change has a developmental dimension, as the EU-Africa Strategy acknowledges, hitting Africa earlier and harder than in many other countries. Secondly, the EU has set out to offer a global leadership role in the field of climate change and without support from African countries, its attempts to shape the post-Kyoto climate agreement will be significantly weakened. This chapter sets the current EU-Africa Partnership on climate change in the context of previous discussions linking development and climate change before outlining the elements of the Partnership, such as the integration of climate change into Africa-EU development cooperation, measures to prevent and reduce deforestation and attempts to integrate Africa into the global carbon market. Having examined these elements, the chapter concludes by outlining the main barriers to the potential success of the Partnership, such as EU policy incoherence (trade, energy, agriculture), access to resources by African states and a potential lack of true dialogue.

Tine Van Criekinghe (European University Institute, Florence), The EU-Africa migration partnership: An assessment of African leverage

As an increasingly important phenomenon ever present on the EU-Africa agenda, migration is an issue area which deserves due consideration in view of the developmental challenges that continue to face the continent. The first section of this paper briefly overviews the recent policy developments in the EU’s approach to migration in its relations with Africa, noting that while some high-level dialogue emerging on joint migration management, in general EU’s policy has focused mainly on combating illegal migration rather than creating a genuine migration-development nexus. This is followed by a discussion of the African migration agenda, which has instead largely focused on making migration a positive tool for development, requesting development aid in order to tackle the root causes of migration, and ensuring the protection of migrant rights abroad. The paper concludes with an analysis of the EU’s approach to migration in West Africa, evidencing some important trends emerging in the EU’s relations with migrant-sending countries. The increased priority of

migration issues on the EU agenda as well as the realisation that migration can only be effectively managed in joint cooperation with sending countries, has given some African governments a new scope for influence in forwarding their agendas. In addition, the need to engage in cooperation with migrant countries of origin and transit in order to stem migration, challenges the traditional donor-recipient relationship and the effectiveness of instruments such as conditionality.

Jan Orbie (Ghent University), The EU, Africa and the social dimension of globalisation

This paper describes and analyses the role of the European Union in promoting the social dimension of globalization, decent work and employment in Africa. In the context of its policy coherence for development commitments, the EU aims to promote these objectives in the Third World. The first part of this article shows how and why the EU started to engage in a global social agenda from 2001 onwards, pointing to the increased politicization of trade issues, the failed labour-trade linkage at the World Trade Organization, the resurgence of the International Labour Organization, and the pro-activeness of the European Commission and some EU member states, as well as trade unions. The second part analyzes more specifically the EU's social agenda towards Sub-Saharan Africa. It examines the social dimension of the Country Strategy Papers and National Indicative Programmes, the 'Human and Social Development' budget line, the 'Migration, Mobility and Employment' action plan of the Africa-EU Partnership, the social dimension of the Cotonou Agreement and of the Economic Partnership Agreements, the application of GSP-plus conditionality, and corporate social responsibility schemes. The third part concludes that the social dimension of EU-Africa relations has been limited, e.g. in comparison with EU-Latin America relations, and brings forward some explanations for these findings. In this context, we emphasize the limited priority of these issues for African policy-makers compared with other objectives, the division of labour within the EU's institutions dealing with the social dimension of globalization, as well as path-dependencies stemming from previous decisions on EU trade policies vis-à-vis Africa.

BIOGRAPHIES

Introduction

Maurizio Carbone is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of Glasgow, where he also directs the Scottish Jean Monnet Centre of European Excellence. Previously, he taught at the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Mellon University, and Duke University and held visiting research positions at the European University Institute, University of Canterbury (New Zealand), and Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium). He also worked for the European Commission in DG Development between 2001 and 2004. He has published numerous articles and books chapters in the field of EU external relations and the politics of international development. His latest books include: *The European Union and International Development: The Politics of Foreign Aid* (Routledge, 2007); *New Pathways in International Development: Gender and Civil Society in EU Development Policy* (ed. with M. Lister, Ashgate, 2006); and *Policy Coherence and EU Development Policy* (ed., Routledge, 2009). At the moment he is working on a book on the relations between the European Union and Africa, entitled *One Europe, One Africa: Changing Dynamics in EU-Africa Relations* (ed., Manchester University Press, 2010).

Section I: Setting the context

Fredrik Söderbaum is Associate Professor of Peace and Development Research at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg and Senior Associate Research Fellow at the United Nations University-Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), Bruges. Recent books include *The EU and the Global South* (co-edited with Patrik Staålgren, Lynne Rienner, forthcoming, 2009), *The EU as a Global Player: The Politics of Interregionalism* (co-edited with Luk van Langenhove, Routledge, 2006), *The Political Economy of Regionalism: The Case of Southern Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), *Theories of New Regionalism* (co-edited with Tim Shaw, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), *New Regionalism in Africa* (co-edited with Andrew Grant, Ashgate, 2003) and *Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa. The Case of the Maputo Development Corridor* (co-edited with Ian Taylor, Ashgate, 2003).

Ian Taylor is a Professor in the School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews and a Visiting Professor, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. He is the author of numerous articles and chapters on Africa's political economy and international relations and has visited 30 African countries. Prior to joining St Andrews, he taught African Politics at the University of Botswana for four years. His recent books include *China's New Role in Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 2009); *The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development* (Routledge, 2007); *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise* (Routledge, 2006); and *NEPAD: Towards Africa's Development or Another False Start?* (Lynne Rienner, 2005).

Section II: Political affairs

Richard Whitman is Professor of Politics at the University of Bath. His current research interests include the EU foreign, security and defense policies, and the governance and future priorities of the EU. He has published in *International Affairs*, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, and *Journal of Common Market Studies*. He is the author of *From Civilian Power to Superpower? The International Identity of the European Union* (Macmillan, 1998), and co-editor with Ian Manners of *The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States* (Manchester University Press, 2000). Forthcoming books include *The European Neighbourhood Policy in perspective: context, implementation and impact* (Palgrave, 2010) co-edited with Stefan Wolff and editor of *Normative Power Europe: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (Palgrave, 2010).

Gordon Crawford is Professor in Development Studies in the School of Politics and International Studies at the University of Leeds, UK, specialising in the politics of development. One focus of his

research is on the role of international actors in democracy promotion, with a particular emphasis on the democracy and human rights policies of the European Union. He has published widely in these areas, including a book on *Foreign aid and political reform: a comparative analysis of democracy assistance and political conditionality* (Palgrave, 2001), articles in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *Democratization*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Journal of International Development*, *European Journal of Development Research*, and various chapters in edited books. He is the co-editor of the journal *Democratization* and co-convenor of the EADI working group on Governance and Development.

Section III: Economic development

Christopher Stevens is Senior Research Associate at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI). He has been a consultant or adviser inter alia to the World Bank, International Trade Centre, the European Commission, UNCTAD, FAO, UNIDO, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the ACP Secretariat, the UK Government, the UK House of Lords and House of Commons, the African Development Bank, the Economic Commission for Africa. His main research interests are: trade preference agreements (especially the negotiation of the Economic Partnership Agreements, EPAs) and related issues (e.g. rules of origin and WTO provisions); the agenda for multilateral trade and trade-related policy in the new century (including dispute settlement, SPS, and 'new' issues such as TRIPs and services trade); the external dimensions of food security and export promotion of high value agriculture.

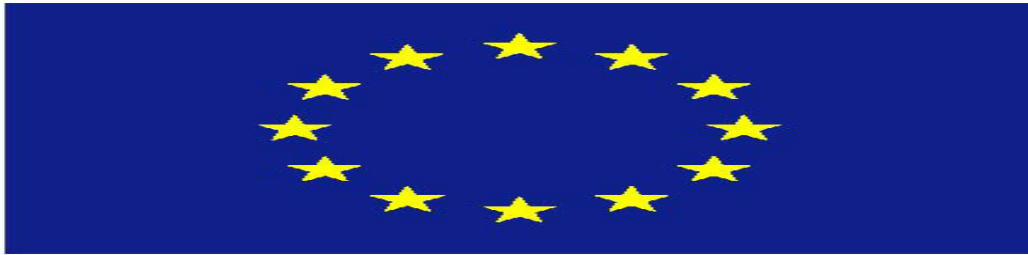
Maurizio Carbone – for bio see above

Section IV: Social issues

Simon Lightfoot is a lecturer in European Politics at the University of Leeds. His current research includes EU development policy and the enlargements of the EU, the EU and sustainable development, and attitudes of social democratic parties to European integration. He has published in *European Environment* and *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. He is also the author of *Europeanising Social Democracy: the rise of the Party of European Socialists?* (Routledge, 2005) and co-author (with Jon Burchell) of *The Greening of the European Union?* (Continuum, 2001).

Tine Van Criekinghe is a Jean Monnet Post-doctoral Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute. She holds a PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science, where she completed a dissertation entitled 'Power asymmetry between the European Union and the Africa? A case study of the EU's relations with Ghana and Senegal'. Her main research interests consider the EU as an international actor, EU foreign policy, and the politics of development, trade and migration in EU-Africa relations.

Jan Orbie is Professor of European Union Politics at the Centre for EU Studies, Department of Political Science, Ghent University, Belgium. He has specialized in European foreign policy, trade and development policy of the EU, international trade policy and the theory of European integration. He has published in numerous journals, including *Journal of European Social Policy*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, and *Review of African Political Economy*. His latest books include: *Beyond Market Access for Economic Development: EU-Africa relations in transition* (edited with Gerrit Faber, Routledge, 2009) and *The European Union and the Social Dimension of Globalization: How the EU Influences the World* (edited with L. Tortell, Routledge, 2008), and *Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union* (ed., Ahsgate, 2008).



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