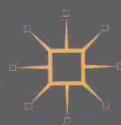


# AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

## A STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP



Edited by  
Jack Mangala



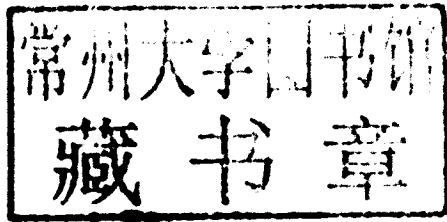
# AFRICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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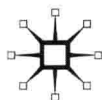
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*Edited by*

JACK MANGALA



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We have come together in awareness of the lessons and experiences of the past, but also in certainty that our future requires an audacious approach, one that allows us to face with confidence the demands of our globalizing world.

—*Second Africa-EU Summit, Lisbon Declaration*

## Preface

The adoption of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) at the second Africa-EU Summit in Lisbon in December of 2007 represented a watershed moment in Africa-European Union (EU) relations. The JAES seeks to “reinvent” Africa-EU relations to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing regional and international environment marked by complex interdependencies, deepening integration, expanding globalization, and growing competition against the backdrop of a tectonic power shift which seems to signal the slow dislocation of the West as the epicenter of world politics.

Through its ambitious vision and innovative framework, the JAES has laid the ground for the most advanced form of interregionalism in contemporary international relations—a metamorphosis that has, for the most part, escaped scholarly radars. This volume intends to fill this vacuum by exploring the contours, significance and implications of this new stage in Africa-EU relations, as well as the achievements and challenges that have accompanied the implementation of the JAES since the Lisbon Summit, which Heads of State and Government wanted to “be remembered as a moment of recognition of maturity and transformation in our continent to continent dialogue, opening new paths and opportunities for collective action for our common future.” (Lisbon Declaration)

The project of this volume originated from a panel I convened on the theme of *Africa-EU Strategic Partnership: A Four-Year Appraisal* at the 4th European Conference on African Studies (ECAS4) held in June 2011 at Uppsala University, Sweden. The discussions started in Uppsala between the panelists and an engaging public have matured since then, and many colleagues who did not participate on the panel have joined the conversation along the way. This volume is the product of intellectual exchanges that have developed between us since ECAS4. I am most thankful to all the colleagues who have agreed to lend their expertise to the book project by contributing a chapter. Their mastery of the issues has helped to shed light on what has been referred to as a “transformative” policy framework that has the potential to remake Africa-EU relations in most fundamental ways.

Editing the book and providing the necessary scholarly leadership to the whole project has been an intellectually exciting and enriching pursuit. I have benefited, in that regard, from the hospitality of Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, where I spent my sabbatical leave in the fall of 2011 and did most of the writing and editing for this book. I am particularly thankful to Professor Blair Rutherford, Director of the Institute for African Studies. He has been a gracious host. I would also like to

express a warm gratitude to my deans at Grand Valley State University, Dr. Wendy Wenner of the Brooks College of Interdisciplinary Studies, and Dr. Fred Antzack of the College of Liberal Art and Sciences. They have always been very supportive of my scholarly endeavors.

Early in the process, I shared the project of this volume with Chris Chappell, African editor at Palgrave Macmillan. I would like to thank him for his support. Sarah Whalen and the whole Palgrave team deserve special thanks for their professionalism. Like with my past books, it has been a delight to work with them this time around. A final thanks to friends and colleagues who have offered their encouragements—sometimes in unexpected ways and often when most needed—while I was going through the tenacious task of assembling the contributions and ensuring that the final product conforms to the highest mechanical and content standards that inform the central questions raised by the adoption and implementation of the JAES.

Africa-EU relations stand at a critical juncture. At a time when Europe is facing a crisis of existential proportion and Africa's outlook seems a little brighter than a decade ago, it might be tempting to overlook the fact that Africa and Europe need each other and are set to benefit from a strategically driven partnership. After decades of "business of usual," both sides acknowledged, in Lisbon, the historical and strategic imperative of change by transforming what has traditionally been "a client-donor relationship into a partnership of equals." This is, to say the least, a bold vision, an ambitious undertaking that requires a long-term view which calls on all stakeholders to operate strategically—beyond conjectural difficulties and challenges—and to summon, at every turn, the political will necessary to achieve the vision of a transformed Africa-EU relationship that has been embodied in the JAES.

JACK MANGALA  
Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 2012

# Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACP	Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific Countries
AEEP	Africa-EU Energy Partnership
AF IT	Africa Implementation Team of the JAES
AGA	African Governance Architecture
APF	African Peace Facility
APRM	African Peer Reviewed Mechanism
AUC	African Union Commission
AU PSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
C2C	College to College Meeting of the African Union and the European Union Commissions
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIDO	Citizens Directorate of the African Union
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DG DEV	Directorate-General for Development
DG JLS	Directorate-General for Justice, Freedom and Security
DG RELEX	Directorate-General for External Relations of the European Commission
EAC	Eastern African Community
EC	European Commission
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EPAs	Economic Partnership Agreements
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy

ETS	Emissions Trading System
EU	European Union
EU IT	European Implementation Team of the JAES
EU PSC	Political and Security Committee of the European Union
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GSP	General System of Preferences
ICC	International Criminal Court
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
JEGs	Joint Expert Groups of the JAES
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NIEO	New International Economic Order
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PDGHR	Partnership on Democratic Governance and Human Rights
PMME	Partnership on Migration, Mobility, and Employment
REC	Regional Economic Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TDCA	Trade and Development Cooperation Agreement
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
UNFCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WTO	World Trade Organization



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# Part I

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## Setting the Context



## Chapter 1

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# Africa-EU Strategic Partnership: Significance and Implications

*Jack Mangala*

The adoption of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) and its first Action Plan at the Lisbon Summit in December 2007 represented a moment of great historical significance in Africa-EU relations. It set in motion the most advanced and complex form of interregional relations in world politics. The JAES marks the latest development in a rich, dense, troubled, and sometimes surprising relationship between Europe and Africa; a relationship that has evolved from ancient times to be transformed through the vicissitudes and scars of the colonial enterprise, the fight for independence, World War II, the promises and uncertainties of the postcolonial era, regional integration in Europe and the quest for Africa's unity, the Cold War, expanding globalization, Africa's growing agency and reforms, and the current reconfiguration of global power, just to name a few of the fundamental dynamics that have been at play in the relationship.

Why the JAES and why now? What is its significance for the future of Africa-EU relations and beyond? What are its implications for interregional and global politics? As the JAES enters into its fifth year, these are the questions this introductory chapter seeks to ponder before outlining the book's design and structure.

## Ratio Legis and Significance

The end of the Cold War opened a new political space which compelled Africa and the EU to seek a restructuration of their continent-to-continent relationship. The 2000 EU-Africa Summit in Cairo was the first attempt to "give a new strategic dimension to the global partnership between Africa and Europe for the Twenty

First Century, in a spirit of equality, respect, alliance and cooperation.”<sup>1</sup> However, the framework adopted in Cairo—as discussed in the following chapter—was timid in light of the stated ambition of elevating the relationship to a strategic level and, more importantly, it lacked a credible operational structure. It was soon overtaken by events on the ground, and a conjunction of new dynamics and forces both in Europe and Africa, and in the international system. This changing regional and international context has been captured as follows by the European Commission (EC):

Africa is now at the heart of international politics, but what is genuinely new is that Africa—and the African Union in particular—is emerging, not as a development issue, but as a political actor in its own right. It is becoming increasingly clear that *Africa matters*—as a political voice, as an economic force and as a huge source of human, cultural, natural and scientific potential. . . . Meanwhile, the EU too has changed—its membership has expanded to 27 States, its role in the world has developed and it has adopted ambitious common policies on security, energy, climate change and innovation. Europeans have recognized that African economic prosperity is essential for European prosperity. . . . The world has changed with the forces of global capital and financial markets, climate change, global media and information and communications technology, trans-national terrorism and organized crime, and global pandemics all making the world smaller by the day. The need for common global responses is therefore more vital than ever before. The EU and Africa are old partners, but in a world transformed.<sup>2</sup>

The recognition by the EU of Africa’s growing strategic importance—and therefore of the imperative of rethinking its traditional engagement with the continent—is part of a broad reconceptualization process which has seen, in recent years, a shift from humanitarianism—what Gilbert Khadiagala calls “the dynamic of Africa-as-a-problem”<sup>3</sup>—to a strategic view of Africa. From Washington, Beijing, New Delhi, Brasilia to Ankara, established and emerging powers have reassessed and (re)formulated their Africa policies to underscore a new level of strategic engagement with the continent. Urging the US government to rethink its policy toward Africa, the Council on Foreign Relations writes, “Americans must pause and reflect on how Africa has become a region of growing vital importance to U.S. national interests. It is outdated and counterproductive to assume that Africa is simply the object of humanitarian concerns or a case for charity.”<sup>4</sup> This conceptual shift has led to a number of new initiatives—such as the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM)—in and formal partnerships with Africa, of which the JAES remains the most ambitious and complex. As stated by Africa and EU leaders at the Lisbon Summit, “we have come together in awareness of the lessons and experiences of the past, but also in the certainty that our future requires an audacious approach, one that allows us to face with confidence the demands of our globalizing world.”<sup>5</sup>

Broadly speaking, the following rationale has accompanied what appears to be more than just a rhetorical exercise by external powers in seeking new engagements with Africa. First, Africa has undergone significant institutional, economic, and political reforms that have, in many respects, diminished the prevailing Afro-pessimism



that seemed to characterize the first decade of the post-Cold War era. These reforms have brought a sense of Africa's growing agency. The establishment of the African Union in 2002 and the home-grown instruments of regional governance—such as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)—have improved Africa's institutional capacity and the continent's bargaining position at the international stage. At the domestic level, a wide range of reforms undertaken by various governments have resulted in an improved economic outlook for the continent. From 2002 to 2008, the annual economic growth in Africa averaged 6 percent. Discussing Africa's recent economic performance, Jakkie Cilliers et al. note,

There are many critical and interacting transitions underway that help explain for example, the very positive global investment and economic growth trends that preceded the 2008 global recession, as well as the relatively strong performance of the continent during it. In 2009, when the global economy contracted by 0.6 percent, sub-Saharan African economies continued to expand with growth averaging 2.6 percent, rebounding to an expected 5 percent in 2010. The continent's growing strengths range well beyond its traditional dependence on commodity exports, but it increasingly also reflects improvements in the quality of governance as well as its burgeoning population.<sup>6</sup>

The improved economic and business environment on the continent is marked by increased—but often overlooked—opportunities. In *Africa Rising*, Vijay Mahajan offers a compelling argument for waking up to the potential of a continent with a population of over 900 million and a high growth rate, and that “any global firm interested in growth must see... as an essential part of its portfolio.”<sup>7</sup> Mahajan highlights in particular the creativity of Africa's business in succeeding on the continent despite the many challenges still present and how the consumers—especially the “400 million people in the middle of the market”—have responded and are for grab for those eager to look beyond the negativities that often obscure the discourse on Africa and that have often been relayed by Afro-pessimists.<sup>8</sup> This renewed economic vitality has been accompanied and sustained by political reforms undertaken in many countries since the end of the Cold War, and which have set the continent on what seems to be a firm democratic trajectory. In spite of setbacks in some countries (Madagascar, Guinea, and Mali) and authoritarian entrenchments in others (Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, and Zimbabwe), Africa's democratic outlook has greatly improved over the past decade—a dynamic that has contributed to enhance the continent's standing in the community of free nations.<sup>9</sup>

Second, the shift to a strategic view of the continent has to do with a high demand for Africa's energy and other natural resources, which is being fueled by the growth of countries such as China, India, South Korea, and Brazil, all of which are firmly engaged in the race for global influence in the twenty-first century. To sustain their economic growth, these countries—alongside with traditional Western powers—are increasingly turning to Africa to meet their energy and other resource needs. With particular reference to the EU, the International Energy Agency (IEA) forecasts that it will overtake the United States to become the biggest importer of