



# Conference

## Africa-EU Policy Dialogue

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### Pre-Summit meeting

9-10 May 2017

Addis Ababa

## ***Stormy times ahead? – The Africa-EU relations in the run-up to the 2017 Summit***

### **Context**

The last EU-Africa summit, which took place in April 2014, was seen by most observers as a rapprochement between the continents after a period of political disagreements. Not only did more than 60 heads of state and government take part in the summit, demonstrating the importance of the relationship, but there was also a noticeable shift in the deliberations. Although discussions about European aid and financial commitments featured prominently, there was also a strong focus on trade and investment which suggested a change in the nature of the partnership, towards a more pragmatic approach and away from a donor-recipient logic.

The political landscape in Africa and Europe and also globally, has changed radically since the last EU-Africa summit. Africa's rapid economic rise has slowed down significantly due to a decrease in the global demand for raw materials. Large parts of Africa are still struggling with challenges such as inequality, underdevelopment, violent conflict, terrorism, bad governance, corruption and a very young job-seeking population. Europe, on the other hand, is still reeling from an economic crisis coupled with high unemployment rates in many member states, and widespread public discontent with the performance of the EU as a whole. In addition, the EU is also confronted with a political crisis which was triggered by increased migration into Europe, an issue that played – among others – a significant role in the UK's decision to leave the EU.

Since the last Summit in 2015, the rising numbers of migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015 has had the most significant impact on the partnership. Even though Africans were only accounted for less than 20 % of the new arrivals the EU shifted its focus and is now concentrating its attention on anticipated migration flows from Africa in the near future. The new approach the EU introduced has already caused friction between the partners and has the potential to alter the relationship fundamentally, and becoming a major bone of contention in the future relationship. Other issues that are posing challenges for the relationship are demands by the European side that the African counterparts share some of the financial burden. This has resulted in cutbacks in the area of peace and security, as well as in the signing and implementation of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) that have been criticised for undermining common regional and continental positions.

### **Meaning of the Africa-EU Summit in Abidjan**

The summit will be organised at a crucial time for both continents. Africa and Europe are facing multiple challenges which might not always be the same but are interlinked, and hence will impact on the partnership. Now would be the time to openly discuss these issues and address them collectively. This would also have to include a re-evaluation of some of the areas of co-operation against the rapidly changing political environment.

The summit will also give the European Commission the chance to fully engage with the new AU Commission, build trust and a good working relationship.

### **Objectives**

The overall aim of the conference is to holistically address key areas of common concern and interest in the Africa-EU partnership that could contribute to the agenda setting of the Africa-EU Summit in November 2017. Specific objectives of the conference include:

1. To make an assessment of the rapid changes in the global landscape and the implications for the EU-Africa partnership;
2. To facilitate a reciprocal political dialogue and to foster a deeper understanding of EU and African perspectives on some of the key issues of strategic interest in the partnership;
3. To contribute to bridging the gap between diverging approaches in key areas of the EU-Africa partnership;
4. To identify possible priority themes for the 2017 Africa-EU Summit bearing in mind the principles of inclusivity and equality.

Both the FES-CCPAU meeting and the subsequent report will contribute to shaping a realistic and forward looking agenda for the Summit.

## AGENDA

### **ARRIVAL: Monday, 8<sup>th</sup> May**

During the day                      *Arrival Participants at **Hilton Hotel***  
20.00                                      Dinner at Hotel

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### **DAY 1: Tuesday, 9<sup>th</sup> May**

**Venue: Sheraton Hotel, Simien Room**

9.00 – 9.30      *Registration & Coffee*

9.30 – 9.45      **Welcome and Opening**

- Ms. Achieng Maureen Akena, Executive Director, CCPAU
- Mr. Florian Koch, Director, AU Cooperation, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

9.45 – 10.30      **Keynote speech**

- H. E. Dr. Anthony Mothae Maruping, Commissioner for Economic Affairs, AU Commission

10.30 – 12.00      **Session I: Peace and Security – time to deliver?**

**Chair:**

- Dr. Gilles Yabi, Director, Think Tank Citoyen de l'Afrique de l'Ouest

**Input:**

- Dr. Admore Kambudzi, Ag. Director, Peace and Security Department, AU Commission
- Dr. Thorsten Clausing, First Counsellor, Head, Peace and Security Section, EU Delegation to the AU

**Comment:**

- Prof. Siphamandla Zondi, Head, Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria

**Background:**

Peace and Security has always been a topic high up on the Africa-EU agenda. The EU has long supported African efforts to foster Peace and Security on the continent – namely the APSA and peace support operations through the African Peace Facility. In fact, the AU has made great strides in regards to diplomatic efforts in the context of crisis prevention and conflict resolution. However, it seems that these efforts have yet to translate into more tangible results as could be seen by the AU's engagement in the conflicts in Burundi or South Sudan. In the absence of a reliable system of collective security and against the background of a complex political economy of conflicts on the African continent, both diplomatic and preventative initiatives from the AU seem to have fallen short in many cases. At the same time, institutional and technical support for the respective conflict prevention capacities and peace support operations can at the best address symptoms, but can't solve protracted and complex conflicts politically. Donors, who have for a long time favored a technical

approach to conflict resolution, are now questioning this form of cooperation and increasingly demand the Africans to “deliver” and show results in terms of peace and stability. A prominent example of donors becoming more impatient is the 20 % cutback for AMISOM by the EU at the beginning of 2016.

### **Guiding Questions:**

1. How can peace processes on the African continent gain more real commitment?
2. What is needed in order to make political processes result-based instead of institution-focused?
3. Against the eminent shift of donor funding towards the AU, especially in the area of peace & security, what are the implications for the institutional landscape of diplomatic and military approaches?
4. What role is in that for the EU and other international donors?

12.00 – 13.30 **Lunch**

13.30 – 15.00 **Session II: Migration – what are the prospects for a continental approach?**

#### **Chair:**

- Ms. Dinah Musindarwezo, Executive Director, African Women's Development and Communication Network

#### **Input:**

- Mr. Christian Clages, Head, Policy Department for African and the AU, Federal Foreign Office
- Prof. Loren B Landau, Senior Lecturer, University Witwatersrand
- Mr. Ibrahima Kane, Resident Representative, Open Society

#### **Comment:**

- Ms. Catherine Woollard, Secretary General, European Council on Refugees and Exiles

### **Background:**

The EU continues to struggle with forced and irregular migrants who began arriving in 2015, resulting in varied, and sometimes contradictory strategies in EU Member State responses. The sudden surge in migrants overwhelmed the existing systems in EU member states. Although less 20% of migrants to Europe came from Africa, the EU has shifted its focus towards Africa. In recognition of the intersections of migration challenges, this issue has long been a focus of dialogue and action between Africa and Europe, and was addressed by the Migration, Mobility and Employment Dialog (MME), which is now the Migration and Mobility Dialog (MMD), the Rabat and Khartoum processes. However, the unprecedented flow of refugees and migrants into Europe in 2015, has made migration the centerpiece of the EU's foreign policy engagements. This holds especially true for the relation with the African continent. The EU's new approach of no longer looking at migration through the lens of development cooperation, but at development cooperation through the lens of migration has already caused political disagreements between Africa and Europe. In addition to this, the EU, through the “New Partnership Migration Framework”, introduced conditionality into the partnership something the African partner had successfully opposed during the Valletta summit in 2015. The new approach also contained the so called compacts, tailor-made agreements with five African countries (Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Ethiopia and Niger) that are supposed to broaden the existing co-

operation by not only addressing migration but also related challenges. The compacts have been negotiated since mid-2016 but none of the five African countries has shown any willingness to sign them. It has become clear that the African partner disapproves of the new European approach trying to stop migration towards Europe on the African continent already while Europe is not willing to talk about legal channels of migration. In addition to this, the EU seems to predominantly focusing on North-, East- and West Africa, which are addressed by the Rabat and the Khartoum processes while it ignores the continental approach – the MMD. The Valletta summit and its subsequent process (new migration partnership framework, compacts etc.) have further increased commitment to these processes while the MMD remains to be dormant.

**Guiding Questions:**

5. Has the Valletta summit of 2015 and its subsequent process yielded any results so far? If so, what are they?
6. How has the proliferation of dialog processes (MMD, Rabat, Khartoum processes, Valletta) impacted on the partnership on migration and its efficiency? What dialog processes are used at the moment?
7. Since they are (sub-) regional approaches, how can the Khartoum and Rabat processes be integrated in the agenda of the next EU-Africa summit?
8. Have other areas of mutual co-operation between Africa and the EU been subsumed by the focus on migration?

15.00 – 15.30 **Tea/Coffee break**

15.30 – 17.00 **Session III: Africa-EU relations – what has been achieved since 2014?**

**Chair:**

- Mr. Geert Laporte, Deputy Director, European Centre for Development Policy Management

**Input:**

- H. E. Ranieri Sabatucci, Ambassador, EU Delegation to the AU
- Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Director, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

**Comment:**

- Ms. Hannah Forster, Executive Director, African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
- Ms. Carolina Quina, Independent Consultant

**Background:**

The 4<sup>th</sup> EU-Africa Summit took place in a positive atmosphere. In contrast to previous summits, both partners chose a rather pragmatic stance contrary to the donor-recipient logic that has dominated the partnership for years. The main outcome of that summit was the Roadmap 2014-2017 that was supposed to guide the partnership for the three-year period and bring enhanced political dialogue between all the stakeholders of the partnership.

This session will take stock of the progress which has been made in the partnership since the summit in terms of concrete implementation of important issues and political dialogue between the two partners. This should also include the identification of areas where more emphasis should be put.

**Guiding Questions**

1. Did the partners use the momentum of the last summit to address pertinent issues? If so, where and how?
2. What were the biggest challenges for the partnership between 2014-17 and how could they be addressed in the future?
3. Being a people-centered partnership, has civil society been sufficiently involved in the engagements after the summit? If not, why and what needs to be done?

19.00 – 21.30 **Official Dinner**

**DAY 2: Wednesday, 10<sup>th</sup> May**

**Venue: Sheraton Hotel, Simien Room**

09.00 – 10.30 **Session IV: Between the EPA's, Post-Cotonou and a hard place – the economic relations between Africa and Europe**

**Chair:**

- Dr. Alex Vines, Africa Director, Chatham House

**Input:**

- Mr. Segun Ajayi-Kadir, Director General, Manufacturers Association of Nigeria
- Mr. Alessandro Tonoli, Trade advisor, European Union Delegation to Kenya, European External Action Service
- Mr. Nathan Iumba, Head, Southern and Eastern African Trade, Information and Negotiations Institute

**Background:**

The economic relations between Africa and the EU are facing severe challenges. Even though not part of the official EU-Africa partnership, both the EPAs and the Post-Cotonou negotiations had and will continue to have a profound impact on the relationship between the continents. The EPAs have taken a big step forward in 2016 with the signing of the SADC-EPA and the signing of most member states of the EPAs with the EAC and ECOWAS. However, the EPA with the EAC and the ECOWAS are still pending as some member states are refusing to sign because of fear for detrimental effects on their nascent industries. Another reason is the Brexit vote which means that the biggest trading partner for some African countries will no longer be part of the EPAs. Meanwhile, in order to keep a preferential access to the EU market, non-LDC's within the EAC and ECOWAS have either ratified interim-EPAs or signed them. Hence, there is a real risk for the REC's to become fragmented which would in turn jeopardizing regional integration processes. Another challenge closely linked to the EPAs are the negotiations on the future of the Cotonou agreement which is the overall framework guiding the economic relationship between the two continents – including the EPAs. So far, the negotiations between the ACP-states and the EU have not been very fruitful if not lackluster. Too much is at stake for the parties involved. Further, it seems the main reason for the lengthy negotiations is the fact that the Cotonou agreement has never been anything else but a channel for aid money and has never matured to serve its real purpose: to be a platform for reflection on how to further develop and deepen the cooperation between the stakeholders. Both developments, the EPAs and the Post-Cotonou negotiations, could have severe implications for the future of the EU-Africa relations and need careful thinking of how to forge a way forward and find a sustainable and mutually beneficial way of economic cooperation.

### **Guiding Questions:**

1. How can the EPAs be handled without jeopardizing regional integration processes? What could be possible alternatives to the EPAs?
2. What needs to be done to start a fresh dialog on the future economic cooperation between Africa and Europe?

10.30 – 11.00 **Tea/Coffee break**

11.00 – 12.30 **Session V: Youth – perspectives of the next generation**

#### **Chair:**

- Ms. Achieng Maureen Akena, Executive Director, CCPAU

#### **Input:**

- Mr. Kokou Sename Djagadou, Human Resources, Science and Technology, AU Commission
- Mr. Brian Kagoro, Consultant
- Mr. Job Shipululo Amupanda, Commissioner, African Youth Commission
- Ms. Aya Chebbi, Chair, Afrika Youth Movement

### **Background:**

Africa is predominantly a young continent and its youth are active in driving change in a number of countries through social movements. Youth in both Europe and Africa are also the most vulnerable to the vagaries of irregular migration, underdevelopment, unemployment, radicalisation, conflict and organised crime. No discussion around mutual developmental priorities can happen without consideration of young people's needs. It is in recognition of this that the AU focused 2017 on *Harnessing Demographic Dividend through investments in the Youth*. In addition, the focus areas of the partnership are ones which impact heavily on young people, whether the migration regime or EPAs or other developmental agreements. Both partners from Africa and Europe recognise the importance of enhancing opportunities for young people and promoting their participation in society and decision-making processes. This session will review the impact of EU-Africa relations on youth, and their opportunities and participation.

### **Guiding Questions:**

1. How can the potential of young people be harnessed positively and in a way that allows them agency?
2. How does the Migration regime, the EPAs, and other agreements between Africa and the EU impact on the lives of young people?
3. How do young people continue to have access to opportunities in the current environment of restrictive policies due to radicalisation, irregular migration and organised crime?

12.45 – 13.00 **Closure**

13.00 – 14.30 **Lunch**



## Organisers

**CCPAU** is a Pan-Africanist network of national, regional and continental African civil society organisations and citizens which facilitates deeper engagement with regional and continental policies and programmes. CCPAU's mandate extends to ensuring that the continent has its people at its centre and not governments, and that decision-making is driven by, and accountable and accessible to African citizens. We utilise invited and claimed spaces to foster substantive and procedural changes within regional and continental mechanisms, and to amplify African citizen voices. CCPAU conducts a wide range of activities and programmes including organising of the signature Citizens Continental Conferences, research and production of policy briefs on pertinent continental issues, training, campaigns and mobilisation, and cross-continental exchanges.

**The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)** is a private, non-profit organization committed to the values of Social Democracy. It is the aim of FES to facilitate the political and social education of individuals from all walks of life in the spirit of democracy and pluralism as well as to contribute to international understanding and cooperation. FES carries out its mission in Germany and internationally through its programs of political education, international cooperation, study and research. At present, FES maintains around 100 offices worldwide, of which 20 are in sub-Saharan Africa