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INDEPENDENT ACTORS IN DEMOCRACY PROMOTION AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

# Africa-EU Relations: Moving towards a Strengthened Partnership

A Policy Paper from  
the European Network of  
Political Foundations  
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## Contents

Introduction	4
Peace and Security	7
Democracy, Human Rights and Governance	10
Growth, Trade and Development Cooperation	13
Migration, Mobility and Employment	16

## Introduction

When Heads of State and Government from Africa and Europe adopted the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) at the Lisbon Summit in 2007, one of their aims was to move this cooperation beyond institutions and make it a real people-centred Partnership. Participation of African and European citizens was encouraged as well as civil society engagement in the eight Partnerships<sup>1</sup> and areas of cooperation stipulated. However, taking stock ahead of the forthcoming Africa-EU Summit in Brussels (2-4 April 2014), it is clear that, overall, civil society has been marginalised in the decision-making processes of the Partnership. With a few exceptions, in most Partnerships civil society organisation (CSOs) encountered difficulties in engaging or playing a role that went beyond the classic paradigm of an “implementing partner”.

When African and European civil society representatives met in Brussels in October 2013, they addressed the current weaknesses and jointly discussed how both sides could play a more effective role in a revised JAES. In order to proactively engage and influence the on-going discussions, thematic priorities considered as crucial for the JAES from a civil society point of view were identified, and concrete needs that should be addressed on an operational basis were discussed<sup>2</sup>.

Member organisations of the European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) have accompanied the process over the last years, actively participating in the Steering Committee of CSOs and the two Civil Society Fora hosted in Tripoli, Libya in 2010 and Brussels, Belgium in 2013. In addition, ENoP members take part in parallel CSO events associated with the official AU-EU Human Rights Dialogue. As representatives of Political Foundations who work with NGOs as well as with political decision-makers in Europe and Africa, we bring to the discussion a perspective that goes beyond that of a mere activist, based always on experiences in the field and derived from our cooperation with local partners.

This policy paper was elaborated by members of the ENoP Working Group on Africa-EU relations. In order to complement the European perspective, three chapters have been co-authored by African partners. At a time when the core components of the JAES are still under discussion and the EU as well as the African side favour different thematic Partnerships, this policy paper takes up four thematic areas which we, as Political Foundations, consider essential for relations between the two continents :

- Peace and Security;
- Democracy, Human Rights and Governance;
- Growth, Trade and Development Cooperation;
- Migration, Mobility and Employment.

Our aim is to highlight the need to adapt JAES Partnership designs when it comes to thematic core areas and implementation of the Partnership. Of particular concern for us is the role ascribed to civil society and the space provided for the engagement of CSOs in the various Partnerships.

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<sup>1</sup> The 8 Partnerships defined in 2007 were: 1. Peace and Security; 2. Democratic Governance and Human Rights; 3. Trade, Regional Integration and Infrastructure; 4. Millennium Development Goals; 5. Energy; 6. Climate Change and Environment; 7. Migration, Mobility and Employment; 8. Science, Information, Society, and Space.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/newsroom/all-news/what-role-civil-society-reform-joint-africa-eu-strategy>

## We therefore recommend, i.a.:

### For an enhanced inclusion of Civil Society in the implementation of the JAES:

- To institutionalise the representation of civil society in all Partnerships in order to allow its proactive participation in decision-making, implementing, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms of the JAES;
- To ensure sufficient space for CSOs to fulfill their role in monitoring and controlling activities within the Partnership as well as within the socio-political context;
- To provide substantial funding for permanent CSO engagement and a regular exchange of CSOs between Africa and Europe. For example, this could be via joint Africa-EU civil society working groups allowing for harmonisation of CSO perspectives in the different priority areas;
- To establish a CSO Secretariat that allows for information on Partnerships and on-going dialogues to be disseminated in a comprehensive way and ensure more transparency in the process of CSO participation.

### For the Partnership on Peace and Security:

- To shift the focus from reaction to existing conflicts towards peace-building and conflict prevention measures;
- To ensure understanding and political will on the European side to take up security challenges in Africa, in Europe's own interest as well;
- To establish a clearer link between peace/security and development issues.

### For the Partnership on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights:

- To emphasise more the initial focus on elections but move beyond the mere electoral process, in the form of electoral assistance to Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and election observation; => Here it is crucial to consider conflict preventive measures and engage in concrete scenario planning and exercises in order to mediate the highly volatile climate and destabilising effects of elections;
- To integrate the official AU-EU Human Rights Dialogue into the Partnership and associate civil society in the process of preparation and implementation of these dialogues.

### For the Partnership on Trade and Regional Integration:

- Within the framework of the JAES, the EU Commission and Member States should fulfill their commitments regarding policy coherence for development in the field of economic and trade relations; socio-economic equality, including in middle-income countries with widespread poverty, must remain a goal of development assistance;
- African and European governments should put necessary effort into ensuring the establishment of effective government institutions, including adequate legislation at national, regional and global levels, in the area of tax administration, thus allowing for extractive industries to be held accountable and effectively making large-scale tax evasions impossible.

### For the Partnership on Migration, Mobility and Employment:

- In order to address the evermore pertinent and contested issue of migration, all stakeholders (political actors, government agencies, NGOs, international organisations, the private sector, community organisations and migrants) must be involved into a continuous exchange, so that receiving countries, countries of origin and migrant associations can jointly find sustainable solutions within the framework of a social, economic, political and legal system that respects the issues of all parties concerned;
- Enhanced public awareness-raising via mass media and school curricula in order to counter xenophobia. Arguments should be based on factual and statistical data to counteract populist rhetoric;
- Receiving countries and countries of origin should jointly finance projects for identifying traffickers and bringing them to justice. In this regard, there is the need for more preventive measures and, above all, coordination between receiving, transit and host countries;
- More transparency and fairness in the case of labour migration needs to be achieved.

### For a re-orientation of the Partnerships of a revised JAES:

- To highlight the shared democratic values as enshrined in the JAES document of 2007 and maintain a Partnership on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights;  
=> It is important to emphasise the key democratic principles of participation, representation and civil and political rights, and to follow the comprehensive vision of the JAES as it was defined in 2007;
- To create the necessary synergies between Partnerships, as already noted in the 2nd Action Plan;  
=> This point becomes essential when the Peace and Security Partnership requires not only a reactive character but also fosters conflict preventive measures;
- To move beyond the creation of institutions (e.g. a platform within a Partnership) and work jointly in a continuous and comprehensive manner on specific issues defined by each Partnership;  
=> This implies having lean and transparent Partnership structures composed of decision-makers from EU-AU and member states as well as CSO representatives. Technical expertise would be assigned according to the needs;
- To abstain from ad hoc, one-off meetings/workshops unless they provide operational strategies for further implementation;  
=> Dialogue must be fostered, but in the end cooperation on specific issues provides the true litmus test for a functioning Partnership between Europe and Africa;

These recommendations will be elaborated in greater detail in the following thematic chapters and the underlying analysis will be further developed.

## Peace and Security

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The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established in 2002 by the African Union and envisions an important role for cooperation between African Regional Economic Communities. Its main objective is to establish appropriate capabilities for a common and effective approach to the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and crises on the African continent. Its core decision-making body is the AU Peace and Security Council, and the tools at its disposal are, among others, the Continental Early Warning System, the African Stand-by Force, the Panel of the Wise, and the Peace Facility (a funding instrument). In implementing APSA, the AU acknowledges that peace and security are prerequisites for Africa's development and reinforce the development-security nexus.

The relationship between democratic governance, development and security issues is a topic that Political Foundations (engaged for decades in political education and development cooperation) like to draw particular attention to. In many cases, efforts to ensure sustainable development processes have been jeopardised and interrupted by the outbreak of violent conflicts. This was a lesson painfully learnt in Europe as well as on the African continent, most recently in South Sudan, Mali and the Central African Republic. Fragile states, which often result from long-lasting conflicts, are least capable of providing core state functions such as the delivery of services, the provision of security or indeed of economic development to their citizens. Where a state has very weak or no governance capacity, human rights are easily violated, service delivery in health or education remains extremely low, economic performance stagnates and inequality and poverty reign. In these circumstances the provision of effective development assistance is difficult. It is therefore essential to emphasise the nexus of security and development and to integrate a strong peace-building component in all efforts to support African conflict prevention, management and post-conflict resolution.

Within the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, the Partnership on Peace and Security is among the most important. It is also widely perceived as the most successful area within JAES, having been able to build on already existing regional cooperation structures. Through the African Peace Facility, the EU has supported African peace-keeping missions in Somalia, Mali and the Central African Republic (among others). It has also built capacity for various components of the APSA, such as within the early warning system, thus strengthening African abilities in the field of peace and security as well as enabling a political dialogue between Africa and the EU<sup>3</sup>. Europe and Africa have to work together to build stability, enhance governance and prevent the destabilisation of countries and their neighbours. Common challenges are, for example, streams of forced migration, cyber-crime, international terrorist groups and the exploitation of religion and ethnicity for party-political purposes.

The positive perception of the AU-EU joint agenda on peace and security should, however not distract from the many challenges that remain. Let us take into account Africa's young demographic momentum: by 2050 over 23% of the world population will live in Africa, as forecast by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS, Pretoria office)<sup>4</sup>. Although the proportion of Africans that suffer from abject poverty will steadily decrease, the absolute number of poor Africans is expected to remain relatively high. A recent forecast by the ISS on the future of fragile countries points to the sense of social exclusion and frustration deriving from high levels of poverty and a lack of job opportunities for the youth among many drivers of violent conflicts.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. <http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/areas-cooperation/peace-and-security/achievements-and-milestones>

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.issafrica.org/futures/uploads/AF\\_8\\_14Oct2013.pdf](http://www.issafrica.org/futures/uploads/AF_8_14Oct2013.pdf), p. 4.



The study anticipates that on current trends, ten countries will probably remain trapped in a syndrome of fragility until the middle of the century<sup>5</sup>. Adopting the most efficient approach to security and development on the continent therefore becomes even more important. In this respect, it is useful to examine the current deficits of the JAES Partnership on Peace and Security and list a number of appropriate recommendations.

The starting point is to advocate for a much more holistic and balanced approach to conflict and instability. So far, the JAES seems to largely focus on the military dimension of peace and security, through support for peace-keeping missions and capacity building for military forces. Looking ahead, it will be important to enhance civilian engagement in a more consistent way. CSOs in the form of think-tanks and NGOs have an important role to play in pinpointing and analysing the root causes of conflict. Local civil society is often in the best position to offer its expertise in identifying the actors, drivers and dynamics of crises on the ground. African and European think-tanks should cooperate to provide objective analysis to complement that provided by governmental and intergovernmental agencies. A more systematic exchange of analysis between African and European CSOs will raise mutual awareness on current challenges to peace and stimulate a debate on best practices in conflict prevention. CSOs should also be given the means to monitor JAES operations in the field, e.g. with a view to reviewing the implication of peace support operations on local populations. Instead of just pointing the finger at African problems, a more engaged dialogue should also seek a global approach to peace-building based on shared challenges. Furthermore, Europe can also learn some lessons from AU peace-keeping missions to inform its own Common Security and Defence Policy.

More dedicated support to civil society activities will also help to shift the focus from conflict management – which deals with already existing conflicts – to a more foresighted approach premised on peace-building and conflict prevention. This demands a systematic analysis of conditions on the ground, looking at all aspects of sustainable development and detecting risk factors such as socio-economic inequality or democratic deficits. The case of Mali illustrated how the African and the international community failed to foresee an imminent internal crisis. CSOs can contribute very effectively to early warning systems on conflict risks and to the design of mediation and conflict resolution activities. They provide critical mass with overall presence on the ground that has to be used more effectively. For example, an efficient conflict management system is vital before and during elections (partly due to the increase in electoral violence in Africa), where violent clashes tend to occur between opposing groups of supporters, also as a result of the numerous efforts of incumbents to manipulate the outcome in their favour. Taking account the potentially destabilising effects of electoral processes, the international think-tank IDEA has developed a specific Electoral Risk

Management Tool (ERM) which should help users understand electoral risk factors, analyse risk data and design conflict prevention strategies<sup>6</sup>. It will be important to integrate civil society efforts like these into the Partnership and provide extensive training facilities for African and European actors.

Finally, the sustainability of APSA and African ownership of its peace and security operations require stronger commitment from AU member states, which will also have to translate into financial pledges, as has indeed been evident in recent years. Thus far, the AU has been heavily dependent on EU (and other) funds. It is also important for civil society to help hold political elites accountable and lobby for the implementation of stated political commitments. The EU, on its side, needs to be ready to provide practical military assistance if its common interest of peace and security demands it, and upon request from the AU.

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<sup>5</sup> According to ISS, by 2050 these will still be: Comoros, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Somalia, Sudan/South Sudan and Togo.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.idea.int/elections/ermtool>



## Recommendations:

### 1. Regarding the thematic focus and structure of the Partnership on Peace and Security:

- To shift the focus from reaction to existing conflicts towards peace-building and conflict prevention measures;
- To enhance substantive dialogue between Africa and Europe on shared challenges, instead of only pointing to African problems;
- To ensure understanding and political will on the European side to take up security challenges in Africa, also in Europe's own interest;
- To establish a clearer link between peace/security and development issues;
- To promote African ownership and sustainability by requesting higher financial pledges of AU member states to the APSA.

### 2. Regarding the role of Civil Society in the Partnership:

- To formalise structures of consistent civil society participation within the JAES Peace and Security Partnership, in light of the added value CSOs provide due to their ability to analyse the root causes of conflict and identify the actors;
- To provide substantial funding for permanent CSOs engagement and a regular exchange of CSOs between Africa and Europe;
- To ensure sufficient space for CSOs to fulfill their role in monitoring the activities within the Partnership.

## Democracy, Human Rights and Governance

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When the Joint Africa-EU Strategy was set out in 2007, the promotion of democratic governance and human rights constituted a central feature of the Africa-EU Dialogue and Partnership. The vision provided was ample and comprehensive. Both continents aimed for the promotion of the values of democracy, rule of law and human rights. The Africa-EU Partnership on Governance and Human Rights was tasked to “facilitate an open, intensive and comprehensive dialogue on all aspects and concepts of governance, including human rights, children’s rights, gender equality, democratic principles, the rule of law, local governance, the management of natural resources, the transparent and accountable management of public funds, institutional development and reform, human security, security sector reform, the fight against corruption, corporate social responsibility, and institution building and development. This dialogue should help both parties to define the issues at stake, agree on common positions on issues of common concern and jointly undertake specific initiatives and actions.”<sup>7</sup>

In its first Action Plan, the Partnership on Democratic Governance and Human Rights defined three objectives:

1. To enhance dialogue at global level and in international fora (e.g. UN Human Rights Council; support to the International Criminal Court (ICC); Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI));
2. To support the new Pan-African Governance Architecture and promote the African Peer Review Mechanism as well as the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance;
3. To strengthen the fight against the illicit trade of cultural goods and work together against corruption, counterfeiting, money-laundering and tax fraud.

The priorities in the second Action Plan remained the same as it concerned the African Governance Architecture (AGA) and cooperation between Africa and the EU in the field of cultural goods. However, the second Action Plan also called for the establishment of a strategic dialogue on Democratic Governance and Human Rights between Africa and Europe and highlighted the need for enhanced synergies with other thematic Partnerships, in particular with Peace and Security.

Despite a comprehensive vision and concrete Action Plan, the Partnership and joint actions in the area of Democratic Governance and Human Rights were slow to take off. On the African side, priorities were clearly set on establishing an institutional governance structure for the continent before engaging further on cooperation with the EU. The Africa-EU Platform on Governance and Human Rights, created in November 2010 just ahead of the Tripoli Summit, therefore remained an empty shell for quite some time. Recently, and with the next summit not far off, it has been reinvigorated. A workshop on the illicit trafficking of cultural goods was organised by the Partnership in Casablanca in November 2013. A Forum on Mineral Resources Governance initially scheduled to take place in Berlin in February 2014 has been postponed until some time after the Brussels Summit.

However, particularly for a Partnership in which the participation of civil society should come naturally, its weaknesses are apparent. CSO representatives are associated every now and then and on a random basis.

The role that the JAES ascribes to civil society in terms of ensuring transparency and accountability in the governance sector cannot be upheld with regards to the JAES Partnership activities as such, due to a lack of

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<sup>7</sup> The Africa-EU Strategic Partnership. A Joint Africa-EU Strategy“, p. 7, to be found inter alia: <http://europafrika.files.wordpress.com/2006/10/africa-eu-strategic-Partnership.pdf>

access to Joint Expert Groups and information sharing. The aim of the JAES that “ongoing dialogue with civil society, the private sector and local stakeholders on issues covered by this Strategy will be a key component to ensure its implementation”<sup>8</sup> has so far failed to materialise.

At best, civil society plays a side-role in the official AU-EU Human Rights Dialogues, which are supposed to take place twice a year and have so far remained separate from the JAES. Once a year CSOs meet in this context back-to-back or prior to the official dialogue, in order to feed discussion results into the official process. However, in these dialogues – CSO HR Dialogue and AU-EU HR Dialogue - thematic agendas have not always been harmonised and thus the effectiveness of civil society involvement has been curtailed. Here again the selection of CSOs associated with those meetings remains untransparent and does not always allow for monitoring of the process, nor for full end continuous engagement.

Especially for the Partnership of Democracy, Governance and Human Rights, the differences between the two continents have become manifest and played out in issues such as civil society participation in political processes, the role of the media in promoting democratic accountability, LGBT-rights and an increasingly negative perception on the African side with regards to the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Addressing these differences should be done in ways that look at both regions, Europe and Africa.<sup>9</sup> Effective citizen participation can only take place when people are informed about processes and their involvement, the institutions and their mandates and their own citizen’s rights. Elections in Africa still enjoy a high level of voter participation, whereas in Europe low voter turnouts have become a problem. In order to enhance democratic participation in political processes on both continents, citizen education and awareness-raising on human rights must be promoted. Moreover, negative images of institutions such as the ICC can only be counteracted when citizens are informed about the complementary mandate and the role of the court as one of last resort. The latter in particular draws attention to the need to enhance the legislative capacity and independence of the justice sector in partner countries. Although it is important to speed up ratification and implementation mechanisms for the protection of human rights, citizens’ access to justice and the availability of a just court are fundamental. Strengthening democracy, governance and human rights equally entails the need to convey democratic principles in initiatives undertaken under the Peace and Security Partnership, such as support for security sector reform and human rights training for the security sector. In addition, it implies enhanced civil oversight of the security sector from both sides of the Partnership.

Nevertheless, while acknowledging the importance of social, economic and cultural rights, we as Political Foundations consider it important that civil and political rights as well as fundamental human rights – in particular gender equality – must be at the forefront of any Partnership. When it comes to the promotion of women’s rights and their roles within society, both Europe and Africa have much room for improvement, particularly as concerns the prevalence of violence against women and daily discrimination.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> ENoP fully supports the recommendations of the Civil Society Forum as issued in the CSO Brussels Declaration on the JAES 25 October 2014.

## Recommendations:

### 1. Regarding the Partnerships of a revised JAES:

- To highlight the shared democratic values as enshrined in the JAES document of 2007 and keep up a Partnership on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights;  
=> It is important to emphasise the key democratic principles of participation, representation and civil and political rights, and to follow the comprehensive vision of the JAES as it was defined in 2007;
- To create the necessary synergies between Partnerships as already noted in the 2nd Action Plan;  
=> This point becomes essential when the Peace and Security Partnership requires not only a reactive character but must also foster conflict preventive measures;
- To move beyond the creation of institutions (e.g. a platform within a Partnership) and work jointly in a continuous and comprehensive manner on specific issues defined by each Partnership;  
=> This implies lean and transparent Partnership structures composed of decision-makers from EU-AU and member states level as well as CSO representatives. Technical expertise would be allocated according to needs.
- To abstain from ad hoc, one-off meetings/workshops unless they provide operational strategies for further implementation;  
=> Dialogue should be fostered, but in the end cooperation on specific issues provides the true litmus test for a functioning Partnership between Europe and Africa;

### 2. Regarding the Partnership of Democracy, Governance and Human Rights as such:

- To emphasise more the initial focus on elections but move beyond the mere electoral process, in the form of electoral assistance to Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and election observation;  
=> Here it is crucial to consider conflict preventive measures and engage in concrete scenario planning and exercises in order to mediate the highly volatile climate and destabilising effects of elections;
- To work specifically on topics which are of added value for both sides and where the exchange of best practices can be fundamental for progress;  
=> Topics as mentioned above and identified in the joint CSO Forum in October 2013 (e.g. citizen and human rights education; promotion of women's rights and their role in societies, including fighting violence against women; fostering judicial capacities and the separation of powers) should feature on the agenda of the Partnership;
- To integrate the official AU-EU Human Rights Dialogue into the Partnership and associate civil society in the process of preparation and implementation of those dialogues.

### 3. Regarding the need to improve the involvement of civil society in order to promote a broad-based and wide-ranging people-centred Partnership:

- To establish a CSO Secretariat that allows for the dissemination of information on Partnerships and ongoing dialogues in a comprehensive way, and to ensure more transparency in the process of CSO participation;
- To institutionalise the representation of civil society in all Partnerships in order to allow their proactive participation in decision-making, implementing, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms of the JAES;
- To provide the financing for joint Africa-EU civil society working groups through exchange, and to harmonise CSO perspectives in the different priority areas.

## Growth, Trade and Development Cooperation

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The European Union is Africa's most important trading partner, with European markets accounting for nearly half of global imports from Sub-Saharan countries. At the same time, Sub-Saharan Africa remains the biggest recipient of EU development funds, benefitting from 20.5 billion Euros in 2009.<sup>10</sup> Effective and sustainable development on both continents therefore depends on the policies guiding EU-African trade relations being synchronised with those directing development cooperation, and that such policies be designed and implemented in such a way as to facilitate each other's objectives. This was highlighted by article 208 of the Lisbon treaty. The article implies that all EU policies must be in support of developing countries' development needs, or at least not contradict the aim of poverty eradication. It is therefore expected that policies guiding EU-Africa relations should not contribute to negative economic and social developments.

The JAES thematic Partnership on trade, regional integration and infrastructure identifies economic governance as an essential element in building African countries' economic strength, allowing them to move away from reliance on continuous donor support. Furthermore, it affirms the development of more advanced and refined productive capacities, with less dependency on raw-material export being a priority of the Partnership.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, efficient governance and an investment-friendly environment are identified among key factors for development.<sup>12</sup>

The last Africa-EU Summit, held in 2010, and the second JAES Action Plan, explicitly addressed the governance challenges in the areas of the extractive industry sector and raw material management. This comes at a time when African states have experienced increased economic growth rates based on the exploitation of raw materials by multinational companies. The focus of the EU so far has been exclusively on enhancing financial transparency and governance on the African side. However, as shown by statistics provided by a CONCORD report, most of the income generated through the extractive sectors in African countries does not contribute to socio-economic development.

It is estimated that tax-evasion by European multinational corporations operating in African countries amounts to more than 630 billion Euros a year, corresponding to over 30 times the amount of total EU-Africa development cooperation. According to CONCORD, a huge portion of the evasions resulting from corporations failing to pay stipulated taxes on revenues originating from raw-material extracting industries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this context, one has to ask whether improved regulatory capacities of African governments automatically are favourable both for improved domestic production capabilities and for expanded European business investments. In addition, the question arises as to whether EU policies live up to the principles enshrined in the Treaty.

Large-scale capital flight from Africa to the EU is a fundamental obstacle to inclusive and sustainable development in Africa. Strengthening national ownership, limiting dependency and ensuring improved government control over revenues from foreign-owned industries must therefore continue to be priority areas of Africa-EU relations. Although efficient economic governance is identified as a key area of the JAES, proficient tax collection and prevention of tax evasion have so far not been covered by the strategy.

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<sup>10</sup> [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/african\\_union/eu\\_african\\_union/development\\_cooperation/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/african_union/eu_african_union/development_cooperation/index_en.htm)

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007\\_joint\\_strategy\\_en.pdf](http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007_joint_strategy_en.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007\\_joint\\_strategy\\_en.pdf](http://www.africa-eu-Partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/eas2007_joint_strategy_en.pdf)

The 2014 Africa-EU Summit and subsequent JAES Action Plan must follow up on this and clearly address the need for joint and comprehensive action to ensure increased African control over African natural resources and the profits they generate. In this regard, it is important that the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) – currently under negotiation between the EU and African states – also take into account that effective taxation on raw material export from Africa to Europe is an important tool to contribute to both African and European development and poverty reduction objectives. The current EU position requires certain African trade partners to open their markets to European agricultural products, in order to avoid access to European markets being restricted. This, however, might force governments into having to choose between protecting the interests of their most vulnerable populations and losing important export incomes.

Furthermore, the growth figures over the last decades for several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have resulted in their classification as middle-income or upper-middle-income countries. Consequently, EU Commission and Member States development cooperation is being drastically scaled down or even phased out in countries such as South Africa, Namibia, Botswana and Angola.<sup>13</sup> One example is Sweden's former extensive development cooperation programmes in these four countries, phased out as of 2013.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, European Commission funding to Namibia under the 11<sup>th</sup> European Development Fund, as well as support to South Africa through the EU development cooperation, are expected to be drastically reduced.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, the high growth rates and extensive public social welfare and poverty reduction programmes put in place have not contributed to reducing extreme poverty. A constant increase in relative poverty places all four above-mentioned countries among the world's 10 most economically unequal.<sup>16</sup> It seems clear that a further increase in government subsidies alone will not be sufficient for sustainable poverty reduction. Economic relations between Europe and Africa must take these challenges into account.

EU and African government policies must depart from the notion that policies aiming at development and poverty reduction should focus on the well-being of individual human beings, rather than on the growth rates as such. Poverty reduction in middle-income countries should not be perceived as a mere matter of internal political priorities of no concern for international development cooperation. Status as a middle-income country does not mean governmental capacities and redistributive policies are in place.

While important growth sectors and the revenues they generate are often run by foreign enterprises, governments' effective control over resources originating from their mines, oilfields and forests might de facto be severely limited. For example, in Namibia mining accounts for approximately 12% of GDP, with more than 80% of the industry being owned by foreign investors. Similar situations are found in many countries across the continent.<sup>17</sup> Such conditions are further accentuated by economic realities where governments cannot afford to jeopardise continued foreign investments. Direct foreign investment is sorely needed in sectors strategic for sustainable employment creation. However, effective regulation of the industries, transparency and good governance are key aspects of any comprehensive approach to sustainable development, including in middle-income countries.

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<sup>13</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/scanned\\_na\\_csp10\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/scanned_na_csp10_en.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.swedenabroad.com/en-GB/Embassies/Pretoria/Development-Cooperation/Swedish-Development-Cooperation-with-South-Africa/>

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.ecdpm.org/Web\\_ECDPM/Web/Content/Download.nsf/0/61C23BAE0116E681C1257A950038CBBO/\\$FILE/Differentiation%20in%20ACP-EU%20Cooperation%20-%20Final%2011102012.pdf](http://www.ecdpm.org/Web_ECDPM/Web/Content/Download.nsf/0/61C23BAE0116E681C1257A950038CBBO/$FILE/Differentiation%20in%20ACP-EU%20Cooperation%20-%20Final%2011102012.pdf) , <http://allafrica.com/stories/201306180666.html>

<sup>16</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI/>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.dlapiper.com/files/Publication/850c9caa-026d-4151-a40e-b0872b5880bf/Presentation/PublicationAttachment/7b8fc026-1c2f-4d2e-898d-b22a0ff4a474/mining-in-africa.PDF>



In order to ensure transparency and good governance for the sake of effective and fair economic relations between Africa and Europe, civil society has a crucial role to play. Continued and successful joint civil society engagement in Africa and the EU is essential in order to ensure that shared interests and sustainable trade and development relations will not be limited to political declarations, but actually materialise in joint strategies and action. Civil society, together with national parliaments, is a key player in monitoring state budgets and revenues. They can also hold multinationals accountable, highlighting their corporate social responsibility obligations. Therefore, it is essential that avenues for enhanced dialogue between African and European civil society become an element of the JAES Partnership on Trade and Regional Integration.

#### Recommendations:

- The EU Commission and member states should live up to their commitments regarding policy coherence for development in the field of economic and trade relations;
- EU and member states' development cooperation with African countries should strengthen effective government institutions, including tax administrations;
- African and European governments should put the necessary effort into ensuring the establishment of effective taxation mechanisms, including adequate legislation and institutions, in countries holding extractive industries, effectively making large-scale tax evasions impossible;
- African and European governments should promote the establishment of regional and global regulations, effectively counteracting tax evasion by European and other corporations operating in Africa. This should include the requirement for corporations to present transparent and country-specific economic reporting to national tax-administrations;
- Socioeconomic equality, including in middle-income countries with widespread poverty, must remain an objective of development cooperation;
- A revised Partnership should provide a mechanism for civil society that allows access to information and provides space for an effective monitoring of key trade areas.



## Migration, Mobility and Employment

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*“The world’s population is increasingly mobile...The key is not to prevent or obstruct mobility but to better manage it.”<sup>18</sup>*

The JAES formalised the Partnership on Migration, Mobility and Employment (MME) alongside the other seven thematic Partnerships, underscoring the fact that issues such as migration, mobility and employment cannot be managed by one side alone. Africa and Europe need to engage in dialogue and real Partnership in order to find ways to address the challenges and particularly make the most of the benefits brought by migration.

Migration is a multifaceted and complex global issue. Across national borders, the topic proves to be a growing public concern. On the African continent migration is a very common phenomenon, with approximately 19.3 million migrants on the move according to the World Bank<sup>19</sup>. Southern Africa has a long-standing history of labour migration, while East Africa is the region affected most by human trafficking and with important movements of refugees and asylum seekers originating from the Horn of Africa. In Central Africa migration is mainly driven by conflict and forced mass displacements, whereas West African societies encounter the highest influx of migrants. While we cannot neglect the migration challenges towards Europe, the characteristics and diversity of migration in Africa call for a comprehensive approach within the framework of an Africa-EU Partnership.

Tragic events such as those seen in Lampedusa and the South Sudan drowning incidents brought the challenges of migration to the forefront of Africa-EU relations. Migration from Africa to Europe was triggered by multiple factors, for example conflict and civil strife, political instability, poor governance, patronage and corruption, financial crises, etc. Despite the generally negative perception of migration, its contribution to poverty reduction, through such channels as skills transfer and remittances (with cases where the value of African remittances exceed even aid<sup>20</sup>) deserves acknowledgement. In 2012 for instance, 30 million African migrants working in the EU sent nearly 60 billion Euros in remittances to relatives in their countries of origin<sup>21</sup>. Besides being a major source of foreign exchange, remittances can boost the financial sector and stimulate investment. Skills transfer can be another positive side of the coin, whereby African migrants gain knowledge and skills abroad and can then valuably apply these back home, often referred to as “brain gain”. On the other hand, many countries lose valuable skills through migration, especially in the health and education sectors: instead of brain gain a drain occurs.

This phenomenon underlines the need for policies to retain skilled migrants in their home countries and develop strategies to encourage return migration. Close cooperation between source, transit and destination

<sup>18</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). March, 2003. Migration Policy Issues: “Defining Migration Priorities in an Interdependent World”.

<sup>19</sup> World Bank, <http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:21681739~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html>

<sup>20</sup> Adams Bodomo “African Diaspora Remittances are better than Foreign Aid Funds. [www.modernghana.com](http://www.modernghana.com) 4 March 2013

<sup>21</sup> Isaacs, L, Vargas-Silva, C, Hugo, S. (2012). EU Remittances for Developing Countries, Remaining Barriers, Challenges and Recommendations. EuropeAid/129783/C/SER/multi. Project No. 2011/266478- Version 1. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from [http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/migration-asylum/documents/eu\\_remittances\\_for\\_developing\\_countries\\_final\\_19-11-2012.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/what/migration-asylum/documents/eu_remittances_for_developing_countries_final_19-11-2012.pdf)

countries becomes overwhelmingly important in this context<sup>22</sup>. This is equally the case for “brain waste”, whereby migrants work in positions for which they are overqualified. Mutual agreements need to be established in order to improve the recognition of skills and qualifications between countries of origin and destination<sup>23</sup>.

These ever increasing migration flows likewise affect sending, receiving and transit states. Receiving and transit states not only face the financial, social and logistic impact of asylum seekers, but also have to deal with illegal migration. Transit countries, envisaged as temporary hosts for migrants, have the problem that immigrants are often not able to reach the intended destination and are left stranded in over-populated asylum and detention centres, with all the related social, emotional and physical difficulties this entails. As research by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) shows, all states affected by migration, in one way or another, are increasingly feeling the need to “effectively manage the international mobility of persons and hence to prepare for future opportunities and challenges in migration and to build capacities for change”<sup>24</sup>.

While making sure that migrants’ rights are not infringed upon and that policies do not create further concerns such as human smuggling and trafficking, it is vital to assess the impact that such policies would have on the receiving/transit countries’ economies and welfare state. “For several years all political forces and human rights organisations have been looking for possibilities to break out from their at best defensive, but rather silent approach on migration policies. The latest scholars believe that shifting the discourse to enhance measures giving more visibility and oversight over the profile of migrants arriving to EU territory could be one of the opportunities to become agenda setters on this field”<sup>25</sup>. The events following the Lampedusa tragedy made the southern European governments of Malta, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Portugal and Spain take a tough stance. The EU reacted with a very intense debate within the European Council meeting held in October 2013, and a communication from the European Commission on the path and way forward proposed by its Task Force for migration<sup>26</sup>. The Task Force priorities will be as follows: actions on cooperation with third countries, regional protection, resettlement and reinforced legal avenues to Europe; fight against trafficking, smuggling and organised crime; reinforced border surveillance, enhanced maritime security, including the protection and saving of lives of migrants in the Mediterranean Sea; assistance and solidarity with member states dealing with high migration pressure.

We should bear in mind that this comes at a time when Europe is witnessing a severe financial crisis, soaring debt, budget cuts, Euro scepticism, a marked rise in xenophobic attitudes, and where the main trend is to increase value for money – “focusing on what works” Sadly, it took hundreds of fatalities within Mediterranean territorial waters to bring the issue of migration to the top of the EU agenda.

On the African side, governments and regional organisations have also adopted a number of treaties, policy frameworks, programmes and action plans in an effort to deal with migration, mobility and employment.

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<sup>22</sup> African Union. (2006). Africa Common Position on Migration and Development, Executive Council 9th Ordinary Session 15-29 June, Gambia. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from [http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/rcps/igad/african\\_common\\_position\\_md.pdf](http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/rcps/igad/african_common_position_md.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> Commission of the European Communities. (2005). Communication from The Commission to the Council, The European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee Of the Regions. Migration and Development: Some concrete actions. September 1. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0390:FIN:EN:PDF>

<sup>24</sup> World Migration Report 2010: The Future of Migration: Building capacities for Change. IOM World Migration Report Series. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from [http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR\\_2010\\_ENGLISH.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR_2010_ENGLISH.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> Tanczos, J. (2013). Why not triple? Three pledges towards a progressive migration policy. December. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from <http://www.feeps-europe.eu/assets/56269331-ad2f-4325-9fdb-d6b00a6dd3ea/why-not-triple.pdf>

<sup>26</sup> Cf Communication by the EC, [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20131204\\_communication\\_on\\_the\\_work\\_of\\_the\\_task\\_force\\_mediterranean\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20131204_communication_on_the_work_of_the_task_force_mediterranean_en.pdf)

In 1991, the Treaty of Abuja summarised the road towards establishing an African Economic Community, with a six stage approach including the free movement of people, goods, capital and services<sup>27</sup>.

Another policy framework, the Migration Policy Framework for Africa, provides a range of recommendations on various thematic migration issues, from labour migration, order management, irregular migration and forced displacement, to be adopted at will by member states and RECs. In 2009 in Yaoundé, the Conference of African Ministers adopted the Minimum Integration Programme, the priorities of which include suggestions for free movement of persons, services and capital, and a proposal for security institutions to improve cooperation in security matters and on combating terrorism. One of the most recent initiatives was the visa abolishment achieved through the AU Action Plan for Boosting Intra African Trade, from January 2012.

While recognising the fact that people tend to move when they perceive their lives to be in danger or when they wish to improve their social and/or economic wellbeing, there is still the need for a much broader view of the links between migration and development. Maximising the positive impact of migration on development is an important policy priority for the EU, as demonstrated by its dual policy framework in this area. Migration and development are one of the four priority areas of the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility<sup>28</sup>, which provides the overarching framework for EU external migration policy. However, policies taking into account the relationship between migration and development need to be further improved. For example, we definitely need to establish measures to balance the impact of forced migration on host communities with the potential supply of human resources to bridge labour market gaps.

The Africa-EU Summit of April 2014 should present an opportunity to focus on strategic priorities, as well as to implement mechanisms for strengthening the current Joint Africa-EU Strategy with regards to such balanced migration policies. Integrating all facets of migration into development strategies and in a revised Partnership within the JAES is a vital first step. What is needed are governance frameworks that allow the development potential of migration and mobility to be maximised.

For an open and constructive engagement on migration, the various aspects of the issue need to be addressed. As Political Foundations, we therefore put forward the following recommendations for a revised JAES.

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<sup>27</sup> Abuja Treaty, Article 6. Modalities of the Establishment of the Community

<sup>28</sup> COM(2011) 743 final: Communication on The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility, quoted in Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Maximising the Development Impact of Migration - The EU contribution for the UN High-level Dialogue and next steps towards broadening the development-migration nexus. Retrieved January 26, 2014, from [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/immigration/general/docs/maximising\\_the\\_development\\_impact\\_of\\_migration.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/immigration/general/docs/maximising_the_development_impact_of_migration.pdf)

## Recommendations:

### 1. General Recommendations

As an overarching framework, the JAES presents an opportunity to enhance cooperation in the area of MME. However, for the Partnership to be truly meaningful the JAES should continue to emphasise MME, which should also be accompanied by intensive political dialogue in order to build common consensus with shared responsibilities. More importantly, cooperation should be informed by the real challenges facing the two continents.

- To enhance this cooperation, there is the need to first legitimise the JAES and allow the Partnership to be built into the existing frameworks that denote Africa's priorities, in order to enable both parties to pursue collaborative activities and projects that add value. These are frameworks such as the AUC Strategic Plan 2014-2017, Agenda 2063 or even the African Common Position on the post-2015 development agenda, which have already received high-level endorsement.

Africa is faced with the challenges of a growing youth population, which requires governments to look at the means and ways of absorbing an expanding workforce into the job market<sup>29</sup>.

- Given the different policies at national and regional levels, there is a need for harmonisation. In some cases, resistance of labour mobility prevails due to different training schemes in the labour force. Hence this calls for an increase in universities and accessibility to higher education, as well as the provision of scholarships and education systems that encourage renewed mobility.
- Based on these facts, the Partnership should concentrate on thematic areas, such as: youth employment and social inclusion; social protection, in particular for the informal economy; labour migration; labour market governance: improving how the labour market functions; mobility: within Africa and between Africa and Europe; integrated border management; human rights: international protection of migrants; diaspora and leveraging of remittances for social and economic development; human trafficking and smuggling of migrants, including the decriminalisation of migration and the promotion of the right to freedom of movement.<sup>30</sup>

However, in order to achieve results in the Partnership on MME, the European side must also take into consideration the interests and challenges that its Member States are facing. For an open and constructive engagement on migration, the subsequent problems need to be addressed:

- To review the Dublin III Regulation with a view to exempting certain member states, with regard to their size and geographical position, that receive large quantities of asylum seekers as first points of entry.
- To fund special programmes at educational institutions of receiving countries, i.e. governmental, religious, and privately owned ones, in order to foster integration of migrants into the receiving socio-economic and cultural space. Supporting the acquisition of language skills certainly features high on the agenda.
- Governments need to finance statistical data that reflects the contribution of migrants to receiving countries' economies and disseminate this information publicly via mass media and school curricula, with a view to countering xenophobia.

<sup>29</sup> World development report 2009

<sup>30</sup> CSO Brussels Declaration on the JAES (25 OCTOBER 2013)

- Receiving countries and countries of origin should jointly finance projects aimed at identifying traffickers and bringing them to justice. In this regard, there is the need for more preventive measures and, above all, coordination between receiving, transit and host countries.
- Achieving more transparency and fairness in terms of labour migration will be one of the main challenges. There are so far only a handful of legal ways to enter Europe with the intention to work, while many national economies are largely abusing the fact that undocumented migrants take up certain mainly low skilled jobs.
- While there is a general call for more solidarity between Member States, the European Council must give the green light to the proposed mechanism in the Dublin III Regulation, which will allow for the temporary suspension of Dublin transfers. Finally, the issue of burden sharing has to be addressed.
- Financial institutions should help to reduce the transaction costs of remittances and help increase their volume.

## 2. Recommendations with a view to the role of Civil Society in the Partnership:

The Joint Africa-EU Strategy is meant to be a “people-centred Partnership” and states clearly that the AU and the EU “will empower non-state actors”. Unfortunately, the role of CSOs in European policy debates on migration, as well as their association with JAES processes, have been limited.

- CSOs and other experts in the field of migration must be involved in finding feasible and coordinated solutions. Being in continuous direct contact with migrants, they are able to gather first-hand evidence and document the points of view of all those affected by irregular migration. Indeed, they know the conditions migrants arrive in host countries; they are acquainted with the policies and procedures already in place; they are best placed to suggest further improvements. Hence, their presence and contributions are necessary at all stages of policy making.
- In order to address the evermore pertinent and contested issue of migration, all political actors, government agencies, NGOs, international organisations, the private sector, community organisations and migrants must be involved and enter into a continuous exchange, so that receiving countries, countries of origin and migrant associations can jointly find sustainable solutions within the framework of a social, economic, political and legal system that respects the issues of all parties concerned.

The European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) is the representative platform of currently 69 political foundations from 25 countries. ENoP unites member foundations from six party families (ALDE, EPP, S&D, ECR, Greens/EFA, GUE/NGL). Political Foundations have been active players in the field of democracy support for several decades. On the one hand, they contribute to effective development and democratisation policies by implementing projects on the ground. On the other hand, they develop policy ideas and contribute to the agenda-setting in the national and EU context. Since its establishment in 2006, accompanied by an inaugural speech of President Barroso, ENoP has become a trusted partner of EU institutions and an important actor in the field of democracy support. The network currently enjoys the financial support by the EC in the framework of the co-funded project “Building a bridge towards socio-political stakeholders for an effective EU development assistance – enhanced dialogue with and within the European Network of Political Foundations”

In its current composition the Working Group (WG) on EU-Africa Relations was established in 2012. Its representatives come from the following ENoP member-organisations: CEVRO/Liberální konzervativní akademie (The Czech Republic), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Germany), Fondazzjoni IDEAT (Malta), Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Germany), KIC/Christian Democratic International Center (Sweden), Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Germany), Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy (Greece), Olof Palme International Centre (Sweden), PolAk/Politische Akademie der ÖVP (Austria), Fundação Res Publica (Portugal).

The primary objective of the WG is to accompany the implementation of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy and the ongoing process of its revision. In line with the core areas of engagement of Political Foundations, the WG places a special emphasis on the Partnership for Democracy, Governance and Human Rights. The aim of our work is to highlight the need for adaptation in the JAES Partnership designs when it comes to thematic core areas and the implementation of the Partnership. Of particular concern for us is the role ascribed to civil society and the space that is provided for engagement of CSOs in the various Partnerships.



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