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Dr. Werner-Schuster-Haus

Kaiserstraße 201

D-53113 Bonn

Phone: +49 (0) 228/ 9 46 77-0

Fax: +49 (0) 228/9 46 77-99

E-Mail: sekretariat@venro.org

Website: www.venro.org

### **Editors:**

Marc Baxmann, Stefan Kreuzberger,

Anke Kurat, Jan Thelen

### **Layout and design:**

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## Africa and Europe: Plea for a True Partnership!

Dear readers,

The signs for the beginning of a true partnership between Africa and the European Union (EU) augur well in 2007. Under German EU Council Presidency and G8 Presidency, Africa is right at the top of the agenda. At the planned Africa Summit in Lisbon this December, new standards for the partnership are to be set as well. The Conference "Prospects for Africa – Europe's Policies" on the 12th March showed both the opportunities and the risks and discussed the conditions under which the new partnership can be realised.

The Conference, which was held by VENRO in co-operation with the European development umbrella association CONCORD, took place immediately ahead of the Informal Meeting of EU Development Ministers on the Petersberg. The message from the Petersberg points in a clear direction: For the first time, a dialogue also evolved between the EU Member States and the African, Caribbean and Pacific States (ACP) during an informal meeting. That key political decision-makers had a stopover at an NGO conference in Deutsche Welle shows that dialogue with civil society is being taken seriously. The final declaration, the Petersberg Communiqué, stresses the values of European development co-operation, brings human rights and the eradication of poverty to the fore and emphasises the 0.7 target.

All this gives rise to optimism. However, the fact that in the case of Africa, one speaks of a large number of countries seeking regional and continental identity while with the European Union, one refers to an integration process that has made considerable progress indicates that much still needs to be done on both sides to realise a partnership at eye-level.

This tense relationship is revealed in the negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) in the context of the Cotonou Agreement, which are of outstanding importance to the development of the African countries. On the Petersberg, the ACP countries and the EU Member States have agreed to give priority to development aspects and conclude the negotiations by the end of the year. This has a very high symbolic value, but by and large, the development needs of the ACP States are given far too little consideration. Civil society organisations in Africa and Europe demand that time pressure be taken out of the negotiations and that they concentrate on necessary issues. However, the European Commission is attempting to negotiate trade-

related topics beyond trade in commodities, such as services, investment and competition policy, under high time pressure. This is against the explicit wish of the ACP States and is not required by the WTO, either. Here, partnership is hanging very much in the balance. The EPAs have to be developed in a manner that will be conducive to development. Anything else would be a step back.

There are also new impulses for more coherence in development policies. Alongside Africa, this topic remains a focal point of the 18-month trio presidency of Germany, Portugal and Slovenia. As long as the EU is taking with one hand what it gives with the other, partnership endeavours with Africa will remain an empty word. For decades, European agricultural subsidies have been counteracting the development of African markets and industries. Under Portuguese Presidency, the European Commission will, for the first time, report on progress made in agricultural policy, in the trade sector, in security policy as well as in the areas of climate and energy.

The EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon towards the end of the year can be a pioneering step towards a true partnership. Not only does true partnership presuppose equality, but it must also be based on ownership, transparency and active involvement. It can only be successfully implemented if the civil societies of both continents are integrated. Hopefully, Europe has drawn its own conclusions from not being sufficiently in touch with its citizens regarding the failed constitutional referenda.

In 2007, there is a rare opportunity to place partnership between two continents on a new footing. Here, the civil society organisations in Africa and Europe will continue to make important contributions.

We wish all readers interesting reading.



Dr. Claudia Warning,  
Chairperson, VENRO Board



Anke Kurat, Project Co-ordinator  
"Prospects for Africa – Europe's Policies"

## Media Partner to Africa

ERIK BETTERMANN, DIRECTOR DEUTSCHE WELLE

I would like to welcome you here, in the central office of the international German broadcaster Deutsche Welle (DW). It's a great honour for me and a pleasure, as Director of DW, to congratulate you on organising this conference about Africa and giving us a chance to discuss European policies on Africa in particular.

For DW, it is not only an honour and a pleasure, but it is our genuine role to be the media partner for such a conference because our central task is to transmit political information, especially to the continent of Africa. As far as Sub-Saharan Africa is concerned, we are doing this in more than seven languages every day. So welcome to the DW Headquarters. It is a little bit like a German United Nations, because, out of 1 500 full-time employees, 450, that is roughly a third, are foreigners. And I hesitate when I use the word foreigners because in this organisation, working together means working with partners, whether they have a German passport or not.

In saying this, I welcome you, and we are glad to play this role as a media partner. Not only because it is our job to transmit all your discussions to all the respective countries, but also as media partner to the United Nations (UN), which



Erik Bettermann

we have been since last week. We have become the first international broadcaster to sign a Memorandum with the Secretariat General of the UN, reflecting in particular the responsibility of international broadcasters to concentrate their efforts on expanding communication between the northern and the southern hemisphere. As the former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, has stated, everyone in the southern hemisphere needs a connection to the Internet. Why? Because there is a danger that the next division of the world will be an information divide, a communication divide. This is why, last week, in New York, we agreed that international broadcasters like the German one, Deutsche Welle, will work closely together with the information and broadcasting system of the UN. So you can see that you are in the right place to hold this conference, not only in the building of Germany's international broadcaster, but also in the rooms and facilities of the first international media partner to the UN.

I wish you a very fruitful and effective discussion, and I am convinced that from today, your discussion will be the beginning of good and fruitful co-operation for the benefit of the people living in the countries of Africa.

Welcome, and have a good discussion. Thank you very much.



## Africa is not the Continent of Crisis, Civil Wars and Problems

HEIDEMARIE WIECZOREK-ZEUL, FEDERAL MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT



Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul

**T**his evening and tomorrow the Informal Development Ministers Meeting takes place on the Petersberg. This is the first time that we have invited ACP representatives to this kind of meeting to allow a broader dialogue and discussion among the different groups. Perhaps there will be some rather interesting results tomorrow. As a member of the Presidency of the EU for this half year, I would like to introduce the priorities that we have been planning.

What is first of all new is that we have a Trio Presidency comprising the present Presidency and the forthcoming Portuguese and Slovenian Presidencies. Actually, co-operation among the three has been fairly good, ensuring more continuity also beyond the half-year term. In what situation are we meeting and assuming Germany's EU as well as G8 Presidency?

One of the major topics is the contribution to a more just globalisation. The general line is to change globalisation in a social and ecological way to fight poverty, help secure peace, protect natural resources and strengthen the role of women. There are interesting developments within Africa. Africa is not the continent of crisis, civil wars and problems. There is hope, there are perspectives, and there is movement. How to get Africa participate in the advantages of globalisation and not just integrate it in the world economy? How can the people benefit from the globalisation process? To answer these questions, we need all actors, we need those governments who want to go ahead, and we need NGOs. By the way, speaking of civil society, I want to mention that we are willing to support the Presidency fund. This has also been

discussed with VENRO, and it means that NGOs in Eastern European countries can also get support and finances. It is very necessary for civil society to assume its role in the respective countries.

The second major topic is the question of working in partnership against climate change. We will discuss climate change at the Informal Development Ministers Meeting. We are preparing a partnership between the EU and Africa on renewable energies and on energy efficiency, and we would also like to make it part of the decision process in the EU during its summits and part of the Africa-EU Summit which is going to take place in the second half of 2007, under the Portuguese Presidency.

The third topic is the focus on Africa, also related to the development of the EU-Africa-Strategy and the EU-Africa Summit. For about seven years, it has not taken place because of one country. There is an evident joint interest between the two neighbouring continents and it would be important to go ahead with that. I hope the Summit is going to take place.

A further focus is the fight against HIV/AIDS and other pandemics. We plan to have concrete Council conclusions during the Formal Ministers Meeting which is going to take place in May. People in the health sector, doctors and nurses, are needed to help in their respective countries. We must strengthen the health sectors in these countries instead of getting doctors and nurses to the United Kingdom, Germany or France, and I hope we will develop a code of conduct during our Presidency. Strengthening women's rights is another important topic of our presidency. The African Union has passed quite a lot of interesting declarations. Now they have to be ratified in the respective African countries. Strengthening the role of women also means checking the pandemic of HIV/AIDS. If you strengthen women economically, you are weakening the pandemic. Education, micro-finance, access to economic possibilities and the condom are the best ways of prevention. In this spirit, I think we will go forward with the respective decisions for the Council conclusions.

Another major topic is enhancing aid effectiveness and a better division of labour. Enhancing aid effectiveness is also a question of how the EU member states are fulfilling their financial Monterrey commitments. Better division of labour means avoiding about ten member states and the European Commission being active in one partner country. Thus there

could be a much better division of labour without reducing finances. I hope we will have some operative conclusions related to this.

And then of course there are the regional conflicts which we also have to cope with. One issue is the peace process in the region of the Great Lakes, where we do have opportunities that we would like to support. The situation in Palestine is also on the agenda. We will do everything to get the conflict solved. We need defence against poverty, we need engagement for the MDGs, we need engagement for the fight against HIV/AIDS, we need all this and we should use our finances to engage in these questions and not for military expenditure.

### **The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)**

Finally, the EPAs are one of our main topics. My aim in the negotiations is a development focus. When starting in 1998 I urged that the responsibility for the EPAs should be within the Development Ministry. I am one of the few Development Ministers to be responsible for this task. In other countries, it is in the portfolio of the trade ministers. But I am not negotiating, the Presidency is not negotiating. However, we are trying to get a dialogue going. We have invited the responsible Commissioners for the meeting on the Petersberg, Peter Mandelson, who is negotiating, but also Louis Michel, who is responsible for development.

Trade liberalisation has no automatism in fighting poverty. It can be used for development but it has to be under specific conditions. The EPAs should try to dovetail trade policy with development policy and ought to be thus formulated. This

means that in their preparatory phase, the EPAs should also allow for trade experts and development experts to get together and give trade agreements a pro-developmental thrust.

But what will be the economic and the political effect if the negotiations fail? None of the developmental aspects will be realised alongside normal development co-operation. The alternative to having this negotiating approach is the bilateral approach towards the individual country, and I am not sure whether this latter position would be more viable politically.

EPAs should improve ACP countries' access to EU markets. This is the major point and not the economic interest of EU companies to have a new African market. If Africa wants to fulfil the MDGs, Official Development Assistance (ODA) needs doubling, but Africa also needs more investment, especially at local level. This means that it needs micro-finance too for those people who have no access to investment, especially women in African countries. It needs sustainable investment from outside, as well.

The second point is that if there are negotiations on liberalisation, they should be asymmetric and the ACP countries can exclude sensitive products from this process. For these products, ACP countries must have long transition periods of over 15 years.

The third thing is to boost regional integration. The existing structures are too weak. If there is no opportunity to have more open regional markets for the countries, promoting growth and employment will be very difficult.

Finally, EPAs should be combined with a process of monitoring and review mechanisms. I am sure that we need a final date. Without a final date we will never come to a conclusion, and we will have all the difficulties of countries in Latin America. The whole existing ACP-EU process would then be in danger. Without a fixed date we wouldn't have a common currency in Europe by now. Of course this means that no-one should be put under time pressure. I would rather be in favour of saying that we should include a review mechanism, so that ever so often, there can be an adaptation process. EPAs are a process and not a fixed treaty. They should take the regional negotiations on board, and in the regions, there should be a kind of regional fund and funding to help support adaptation processes.

I am not negotiating but I want to use my possibilities as Development Minister to get a development process going, and I would at least assume that many of you share these positions and that we can discuss all controversial points. Currently, we are not the biggest majority in our countries, so let us try to seek that we can press on with these aspirations and hopes that we have for development, also in our respective countries.



Deutsche Welthungerhilfe

### ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS

The preferential trade relations between the European Union and the ACP countries date back to 1975, when the first Lomé Agreement was signed. The Cotonou Agreement of 2000 created the legal foundations for the negotiations on so-called Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which commenced in 2002 and are to be concluded by the end of 2007. At this point, the waiver of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) expires, and the trade relations between the EU and the ACP will then have to conform to the WTO rules on regional trade agreements. The EU intends to negotiate not only on a further liberalisation of trade in goods but also on services, intellectual property, investment, competition and government procurement. In Africa, the EPAs are negotiated between the EU and five different negotiating groups.

The conclusion of the EPAs is of particular importance to the development of the African states. The EPAs were originally devised as development tools. But the current state of negotiations suggests that many of the poorest African countries are not going to withstand the competitive pressure exerted by European export industry. In the Development Policy Manifesto for the German EU Presidency 2007 African and German civil society organisations are strongly calling on the EU to delay the negotiations in order to ensure that EPAs are good development tools. The discussion topics are the conditions that the EPAs have to fulfil for them to ultimately be conducive to development.

At the informal meeting of development ministers and ACP-EU Dialogue on the Petersberg, the EPA negotiations played a central role.



Tetteh Hormeku

## The Power of Economy and in Politics Dictates the Pace, the Content, and the Shape of the EPA Negotiations

KEYNOTE BY TETTEH HORMEKU,  
THIRD WORLD NETWORK AFRICA

In December 2003, the Africa Trade Network – a civil society network that operates almost all over the various countries of the African continent – met. After a really hard look at the design and process of the EPAs we said that the EPAs as they were pursued were fundamentally against the development prospects of African countries. Today, we are in March 2007, and everything that has happened since that period confirms these apprehensions. The negotiations are making us worry even more than in 2003.

I would like to highlight some of the problems of the negotiations which lead us to the fear that the EPAs are going to kill the economies of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. We have noticed that the language and some of the arguments deployed by the European Commission have undergone an interesting change: There is a lot more emphasis on partnership, regional integration, adjustment costs and on helping the African countries gradually and smoothly move into the global system. And in fact, the position of the German Development Minister makes my heart very warm, because it is a kind of assurance that the EPAs are going to be for development, they are going to promote regional integration, and they will do all the wonderful things. In fact, this engagement contradicts what we have heard from Peter Mandelson and all the negotiators of the European Commission and from what is happening in reality in the negotiations.

Every single moment that I heard the European Commission negotiators talk – from Mr. Karl Falkenberg onwards – they have insisted on negotiating Singapore issues. The last time the ECOWAS met the European Commission in February 2007 in Brussels, they announced that they were even going to include the negotiations on government procurement in West Africa. But the Ghanaian government is fundamentally against negotiating government procurement. So in reality there is no voluntary choice.

But general questions are more important. For example, the fundamental idea of development that lies behind the European Commission's conception of the EPAs. The idea is simply: trade liberalisation plus deregulation of investment, services plus adjustment costs plus financial support to help the ACP countries to move into a long-term transition period will lead to development. Each of those elements has been pursued by African countries over the past 20 years. Tariffs have been removed, investment and services have been deregulated. All this has been done under the pressure of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. West Africa subsequently lost half of its industries as a result of liberalisation.

Development in Africa is not simply about adjustment costs, development is not simply to say give us more money. Development is about how we build productive capacity across the entire economy, so that farmers in the remote areas not only hold on to their farms but also improve their productivity so that they can get more income from what they grow and then invest more. Development means how to hold on to African productive enterprises, factories in the cities, so that those factories themselves can improve themselves and grow. Development means how to use services, telecommunication, and financial services to support the growth and sustainability of industry and agriculture.

In reality, the European Commission is pressuring the ACP countries into removing tariffs. If we remove tariffs for the products that are coming into African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, products will themselves benefit from the superior productive conditions, sometimes subsidies. They come cheaply into our economies, they just wipe out our own domestic producers, and it is not because our domestic producers are incompetent or inefficient, it is simply because some products whether are subsidised or have got better facilities which we do not have at the moment.

How about services? Again, the European Union's proposal for service liberalisation is frightening. It is difficult to understand. The European Commission is proposing to change the entire architecture of service liberalisation. At the moment of the review, every country can say: I choose this sector to liberalise, I choose that sector to liberalise.

From what I have seen of the European Commission's proposal on service liberalisation, all service sectors are put into the negotiations unless you make exceptions.

Take investment and government procurement: This is a very controversial area. According to the European Commission and the position of the Federal Minister, investment, competition policy and government procurement are important to help build ourselves and move away from primary production. This is very true, but it depends on how and where we invest. For example, if the Ghanaian government wants to procure food for the hospitals and is forced to get the procurement from some European company, again the domestic producers will be behind closed doors. What the European Commission has been demanding on government procurement since 1996 is to give access to European companies to the procurement market.



Deutsche Welthungerhilfe

I just want to comment on the process of negotiations. At the end of January in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, the European Commission met the West African negotiators. The West African negotiators have just finished their review and listed ten tasks to make sure that EPAs are pro-development. The European Commission has refused to list the tasks in the review report. What kind of equal negotiations are these? The power of economy and that wielded in politics dictates the pace, the content, and the shape of the negotiations.

Who is more and better equipped to meet the costs of extension? If the EU is not prepared to bear the costs of a hundred million or two hundred million people asking for extension, it means to conclude an agreement today which will be costly in a longer term for all the small economies in the ACP. EPAs will destroy small fishermen, small farmers and small industries, which will make it possible for the European Community and the big producers to have better access to our markets and our raw materials, and in the long term, this will undermine our own capacity.

## EPAs are a Threat to Development

DR. KLAUS SCHILDER, WORLD ECONOMY,  
ECOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT (WEED)

As we are at the doorsteps of tomorrow's meeting between a delegation of ACP ministers and the European development ministers today, EPA negotiations are indeed at a turning point. From reports coming from inside the negotiating rooms we take it that while there is fundamental agreement that the development perspective should be central to EPAs both negotiating sides still differ quite fundamentally over the substance of an agreement that would deliver on development. Civil society in the ACP and EU calls on EU development ministers to prove to the ACP side that EPAs are indeed about development first!

### Breaking the spirit of the Cotonou partnership agreement

Central to the Cotonou agreement is the notion of partnership and the reassurance that ACP countries "shall determine the development strategies for their economies and societies in all sovereignty [...]" (Art. 2). However, there are clear indications of a growing frustration on the ACP side and across civil society in that pro-development proposals from the ACP negotiating groups have constantly been rejected by the EU Commission on the basis that "development" is already covered in the Cotonou Agreement and the EDF. While the Commission – like the German government – is of the view that EPAs are essentially free trade agreements, the ACP countries seek agreements that take into due account their respective particular development needs, and serve their regional and national development objectives. Here are some examples of how the Commission has dismissed concrete development-oriented ACP proposals in the negotiations:

From at least four ACP regions, proposals have been made to take account of national and regional diversity, e.g. the levels of development, size, export dependency and economic vulnerability. But the Commission prefers a "One-size-fits-all" approach where all countries in a region commit to the same obligations, regardless of whether they are Least Developed Countries (LDCs) or not.

The Southern African EPA group (SADC) has proposed a WTO-compatible alternative to an EPA, which would exempt Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania (the LDCs in the group) from liberalisation and contractualise the duty-free quota free arrangement of the "Everything but arms"-Initiative (EBA). The SADC has been very clear in its refusal to negotiate the so-called new generation trade issues. Still,



Dr. Klaus Schilder

the Commission has maintained vis-à-vis the SADC group that assistance could be provided only against clear commitments on (trade-related) rules.

In order to sequence regional integration and development before further liberalisation commitments, the East and South African group (ESA) has drafted a section on 'Development Benchmarks and Review Clause', which proposes a 10-year moratorium, a 20-year phase-in of tariff elimination and a five-yearly review of the EPA to assess whether it is indeed achieving its objectives of development and regional integration. The Commission's response to the ESA proposal has been dismissive of the review clause and fails to recognise the need of ACP regions to develop before opening up.

The informal development council should urgently reconsider the contents of the proposals which have been made and examine proposals which will advance the development needs of the ACP countries - including solutions without reciprocal market liberalisation, without new generation trade issues (Singapore Issues), and without WTO-plus provisions, particularly in relation to intellectual property and services.

### Time pressure

Two weeks ago, ACP Trade Ministers met in Brussels with Commissioner Mandelson and Commissioner Michel to discuss the findings of the "formal and comprehensive review" of EPA negotiations. In our point of view, the review provides an important opportunity to readjust some of the imbalances against ACP countries and their development prospects which have so far characterised the negotiations. The findings of a draft joint review of the state of negotiations and outstanding challenges in the four African EPA groups are that "in each and every region delays in the negotiations are looking more and more likely". The report also clearly

points to the lack of capacity for negotiations and eventually the implementation of EPAs.

In order to avoid the disruption of ACP exports into the EU and negative effects on ACP non-least developed agricultural producers (e.g. in Kenya, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Seychelles), a political initiative for an interim regime to guarantee uninterrupted EU market access for ACP producers is urgently needed until EPA negotiations are concluded to avoid a legal vacuum. In the words of Minister Billie Miller of Barbados, "it is in nobody's interest to pull the plug". In fact it could include a high reputational risk for the EU as the largest donor in Africa.

In their own civil society review, farmers' organisations from 5 ACP regions (except the Pacific) are deeply concerned about the effects on rural livelihood. The costs to the affected African countries of a re-imposition of GSP duties or a "rushed" and poorly constructed EPA, which does not comprehensively address African development concerns, would be of such a magnitude as to warrant a temporary offset of WTO rules. After all, as the WTO has embraced development as a core principle & objective, WTO compatibility should mean development compatibility. Thus the factual constraint of WTO compatibility is a mere excuse for the EU to step up the pressure on the negotiating partners to sign agreements over which governments and civil society alike have some fundamental reservations.

Civil society calls on the informal development council to take full cognisance of the findings of the All Africa review, and this should inform the future conduct of EPA negotiations. The Council should take a political initiative to guarantee that regardless of the state of EPA negotiations, no change in ACP terms and conditions of access to the EU market should be allowed to occur from January 1st 2008. And the Council must ensure that the European Commission takes necessary administrative steps to temporarily extend the Cotonou trade preferences until such time as the EPA negotiations have been concluded on a mutually agreed basis.

#### **Development finance – The threat of a "lost EDF"**

Currently the European Commission is deciding with its Member States how much money will be reallocated under the 9th EDF and what priorities will be funded under the 10th EDF's future allocation schemes. Civil society organisations have released new figures showing that in reality developing countries get far less money than has been promised on numerous occasions and that commitments made by the European Commission and its Member States have not been put in practice. European NGO's fear that the promises made by the EU Commission for financial support of

EPA-related adjustment measures are not being translated into reality.

In April 2006 the European Council decided on a 10th EDF worth 22.7 billion Euro. Since then, the ratification process has started in several Member States. Due to the slow ratification rate by 27 EU Member states (including new members like Romania and Bulgaria), it is likely that the 10th EDF will not start before 2010.

De facto this will mean that the 10th EDF will run for a period of 5 years from 2010 till 2015 (the period which under the Lomé system would have been covered by the 11th EDF and that there will only be two 5-year allocations in the 15 years from 2000 till 2015).

Draft figures on the allocation of the 10th EDF show a very low priority for health, education and rural development. It is clear that already, priorities linked to EPAs are taking money away from traditional areas of EU aid deployment, including those closely linked to the attainment of the MDGs and poverty eradication.



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Civil society calls on the informal development council for a collective and visible response to ACP expectations on development finance (including an EPA adjustment facility built into the agreements). We call for an improvement of transparency and meaningful participation of civil society and parliaments by publishing – ex ante – country strategy papers and all information on allocations, commitments and actual disbursements. The Council must insist on a speedy ratification process of the 10th EDF and reconsider disbursement requirements in order to avoid a "lost EDF".

## Report of the Panel Discussion

The negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are playing a central role during Germany's Presidency of the EU Council (see Box on page 8). Civil society groups in Africa and Europe regard the EPAs as a threat to development in African countries, as became clear in the opening statements of Tetteh Hormeku and Klaus Schilder. But where are the differences between the demands raised by civil society and the position of the German EU Presidency? What scope is there for deadlines for the negotiations? What expectations do African states hold regarding the EPAs? These issues were explored in the following panel discussion with civil society and government representatives from Africa and Europe at the beginning of the conference "Prospects for Africa – Europe's Policies". Moderated by Petra Pinzler (Die Zeit), a lively and exciting exchange of views developed.

Klaus Schilder generally welcomed dialogue between the EU and the ACP states at the meeting on the Petersberg, for hitherto, such dialogue had not taken place at all regarding the EPAs. While the European Commission did hold the negotiating mandate for the EPA negotiations, it was the task of the EU states to monitor this mandate. So far, the demands of the developing countries had been given far too little consideration in the negotiations. So the dialogue on the Petersberg at the level of the member states and the exchange of different positions were of particular importance for the further negotiations.

Jacob Gyeke Buba is responsible for tariffs at Nigeria's Ministry of Trade and is also a member of Nigeria's delegation to the Petersberg. While he accepts that a further liberalisation of African markets and increased regional inte-

gration are necessary, at the same time, he does doubt that the African countries are already in a position to enter the EPAs. "Trade among the African countries has not yet attained a sufficient level. Neither can we speak with one voice yet. We still tend to deal more with our former colonial powers than with our neighbours," Buba said. It had also taken a long time in the EU for tariffs to become harmonised and free movement of goods and commodities to be agreed. However, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) had made considerable progress in this direction. For example, there were no obstacles to imports from Côte d'Ivoire to Nigeria. However, African states still had to depend on existing tariffs in order to be able to afford investments in the social sector, for example in the education or health sector. "If we start liberalising trade now, as the EU would like to see, we would have problems here." Buba was convinced that at the moment, it was more important to strengthen mutual trade relationships among the African states and standardise tariff rules and regulations before one could sit together with the EU as a uniform block. "There, we are already running faster than we really can. We need time for further steps. I would like to believe that the EU has good intentions, but we cannot keep pace with such momentum."

However, Federal Minister Wieczorek-Zeul sees no alternative to the conclusion of the EPA negotiations on schedule. "If we reach the end of the year without the EPAs being signed, action will be taken against us." Rather than extending the deadline, it was necessary to initiate a sensible assessment process offering opportunities to constantly adapt the agreements. Financing options would have to be



Heidmarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Tetteh Hormeku, Dr. Klaus Schilder, Jacob Gyeke Buba and Petra Pinzler

“What would happen if the waiver were to expire and preferential access were to continue to exist? Not much! African states would bear the greater risk.”  
Klaus Schilder

created to this end as well. Also, transitional phases of at least 15 years were required to strengthen the structures and regional markets for far-reaching liberalisation.

However, Klaus Schilder also raised deep concern about the tight timeframe. “I also like deadlines for my work, but not in international negotiations to exert pressure.” The negotiations ought to be extended a further two or three years. “What we now need is an interim regime. For what would happen if the waiver were to expire and preferential access were to continue to exist? Not much! The EU would risk a WTO arbitration procedure and would probably lose it. Then, in one or two years, the plaintiff party would have the right to impose trade restrictions on its part against the EU. A comparison of the costs shows that the African states would bear the greater risk. A little more flexibility would be appropriate here.”

Tetteh Hormeku also maintained that, owing to the deadline, bad agreements should be signed under no circumstances. “What now counts is the political determination to extend the deadline.” Some elements of the EPAs were not necessary at all. For example, the WTO demanded neither regulations regarding investment nor regulations on public procurement or rules governing the liberalisation of services. In the negotiations, the EU ought to restrict itself to trade with products and postpone any further liberalisation requirements. However, preferential market access for these products in its present form was no alternative to the EPAs, the Minister stated. Preferential access was not based on any development strategy but on the colonial past. This was why development aspects had to be integrated into the existing mandate of the European Commission

in order to turn the EPAs into a development instrument.

According to Jacob Gyeke Buba, growth and employment were the central topics for development. Productivity in Africa had to rise. Only a handful of countries trading oil could survive on an international scale. “But the oil industry is a highly technological affair, which is why it is mainly western businesses that engage in it.” While Africa did have the natural resources, it lacked the machinery. The raw materials were sent to Europe for further processing and were then bought again by Africa as final products. This generated neither foreign exchange nor employment. Buba’s appeal was to “bring your industries, employ our youth, and sell the products wherever you want to. Producing in Africa will generate development through employment.”

Towards the end of the discussion, the Minister also saw common ground with the non-governmental organisations provided that they refrained from a flat rejection. Thus the basic question was how the EPAs could be developed in a development-friendly manner. This, the Minister assured, was also being discussed. “But I can not invent a new mandate. This would also be more difficult with 27 member states, and it could not be developed in such a development-friendly manner.”

“What we need is mutual confidence when we are negotiating,” Jacob Gyeke Buba summed things up. The Minister, for her part, said that she was optimistic regarding the EU and the ACP states departing from their dialogue on the Petersberg with a greater level of trust.

BY MARC BAXMANN, VENRO



### POLICY COHERENCE FOR DEVELOPMENT

On 24 May 2005 the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) adopted conclusions on Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) and agreed twelve PCD Commitments, in preparation for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) review at the UN Summit of September 2005. The joint declaration of December 2005 on the European Consensus on Development adopted by the Council, Commission and the European Parliament reaffirms the EU's commitment to promoting PCD. It introduces the PCD Work Programme, which lists priorities for action and defines the roles and responsibilities of the Council, Member States and the Commission, as a new tool.

The EU commitment is not only a key political commitment in the context of the MDGs. It also has a firm legal basis in the EC Treaty (Art. 178).

Within the broad context of EU policy making coherence is a multidimensional commitment which needs to take place within the overall framework of the EU sustainable development strategy. Non-development policies should respect development policy objectives and development cooperation should, where possible, also contribute to reaching the objectives of other EU policies. It is generally acknowledged that the effective improvement in the coherence of developed countries' policies would put developing countries in a much better position to achieve the MDGs.

In 2006 the Council of the EU agreed to introduce a new element into its rules of procedure by establishing an 18-month programme for three consecutive Presidencies. The Presidencies prepare, in close cooperation with the Commission, a programme of Council activities for that period. This programme reflects the political priorities of the three Presidencies in the context of the Union's longer term strategic orientations. The first 18-month programme of the Council has been established for the period from January 2007 until June 2008. In the field of development policy, Germany, Portugal and Slovenia outlined their common priorities and initiatives during their Presidencies in a Trio Presidency Programme. PCD is one of the main topics.



Prof. Dr. h. c. Christa Randzio-Plath

## Policy Coherence for Development – a Permanent Challenge

KEYNOTE BY PROF. DR. H. C. CHRISTA RANDZIO-PLATH, VICE CHAIRPERSON, VENRO

With concern but also with a degree of hope and optimism, VENRO, CONCORD as well the African NGOs are following the debates and decision-making regarding coherence at EU level. The efforts of the Austrian and Finnish Presidencies have to be appreciated but do not meet the expectations of the NGOs. Progress in coherence is missing if we look at development, trade, agricultural and fisheries policies. Take the European Partnership Agreements, for example. Where are the development-friendly aspects? Will the EU deliver, and if so, how? The German, Portuguese and Slovenian EU Presidencies with streamlined strategies are an opportunity for more coherent policies, especially with a view to Africa. However, it is to be borne in mind that coherence means coherence of other policies with development objectives not coherence between policies.

Without contributing to coherent policies, the EU will not be able to support the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by most of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The notion of new effectiveness for development cooperation and the repartition of action and aid are key subjects for all of us. But nothing is more important than coherence. How can we address human security in Africa without committing ourselves to the opening of our own markets? How can we oblige ACP countries to face the challenges of globalisation without compensating them for a given period with payments substituting their income because of losses in custom duties?

## Migration

Migration is generally looked upon as a question regarding the challenges for the EU. How many migrants does Europe want under which conditions? Can migration solve the demographic problems of the Union? These questions are very important, but we are forgetting about Africa, Asia and Latin America if we just put this side of the coin on the table. How can Africa digest the migration of its experts and academics? Is it correct to distribute scholarships to African students to become a doctor and then facilitate their entry to the UK because medical doctors are missing? Regarding development policies, Europe is in need of a common and transparent migration policy in order to give Africans a chance for a decent life and work in Europe. Organised migration would allow for a legal status and limits exploiting human trafficking by organised crime.

While there are promises and commitments, implementation is poor:

- Up to now, Europe has not contributed to turning brain drain into brain gain. This will only be possible if the EU and the member states adopt a joint approach to refrain from active recruitment in sectors which are key to the development of African countries as for example health and education services.



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- Well-managed international labour migration should be at the heart of EU economic migration policies, but there is no agreement.
- It is EU policy to promote cheap and secure channels for private migrant remittances and access to development-oriented investments, but where are the results?
- Human security is missing with regard to migration. How to establish coherence between development, human security and migration?

Finally, the overall costs and benefits of migration have to be seen not only from the perspective of individuals. More research about the impact of migration on development is

needed. Governments are confronted with competing priorities and short-term demands from inside and outside. All too often, the EU is pursuing a eurocentric defensive security strategy instead of addressing the problems in a coherent manner. Decisions taken in trade, labour market and development policies are rarely considered in terms of their impact on international migration. Civil society is left aside and cannot participate in finding adequate solutions which might contribute to coherence.

## Children and women in armed conflicts

VENRO welcomes the initiative of the Slovenian government to give priority to children and women in armed conflicts. Together with our African partner NGOs, we call upon the Presidencies to involve African civil society in processes of peace-building, conflict prevention and conflict settlement. Our Manifesto calls for strengthening human security. The EU's commitments to peace and security based on the reference frame of human security are on the table, but there is no consistent strategy. The EU allows for preferential treatment if African countries behave and do not rearm whereas members of the EU are among the biggest producers and exporters of small arms and light weapons – definitely a lack of coherence.

The role of women in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations is rightly put on top of the agenda. The EU and nearly all member states have failed to present action programmes, and they are obliged to the implementation process of UN resolution 1325. As gender equality is one of the five common principles of EU development cooperation, more action and visibility is needed. Women are actors for change and could contribute to post-conflict solutions and conflict settlement as examples in Africa and the Western Balkans demonstrate. EU should urge the UN to include gender experts and expertise in all levels and aspects of peace operations. The implementation of resolution 1325 calls for actions plans. The EU and the member states have to deliver.

## 50 years of EU policies

This year, we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the EU. Europe has responsibilities arising from the past and from being an important partner in this world. Not wishing to be or become a world super power, Europe has yet to define more explicitly the role of partnership to the developing world. As we are living in one world, security means common security. This is why coherence between the EU development policies and the better co-ordination of member states in view of the MDGs is so important. After 50 years of its existence, Europe should be prepared to realise the call for coherence as a precondition for a more effective partnership between the North and the South.

## Portugal's Views on Policy Coherence: Link Migration and Development

PROF. DR. JOÃO GOMES CRAVINHO,  
SECRETARY OF STATE, PORTUGAL



Prof. Dr. João Gomes Cravinho

During our Portuguese EU Presidency a first progress report on coherence will be published and show what we have achieved since 2005, when this process began. As Presidency we will take the report very seriously and attach a great deal of importance to that report and follow up whatever conclusions will come from it. After 2000, we really achieved a transformation in the mindset of public opinion when looking at development. With the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), there was this idea that it could not be business as usual for a number of reasons. Globalisation was gathering pace and people were beginning to realise that if we allowed trends of the time to persist, we would have very serious instabilities. These could affect a whole range of issues and geographical areas normally immune to the pressures of poor countries. With the MDGs we did achieve this mindset. Now there is a focus on the need to make sure that Official Development Assistance (ODA) does not contradict with other approaches. Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) has risen considerably on the agenda of political importance, and we have to attach great importance to this approach. We need to ensure that the negative impacts in development terms of various sectoral approaches are removed in order to justify the money that we are increasingly spending and contributing to development objectives. It does not make any sense to take away with one hand what we are giving with the other. It makes plenty of sense for us to be able to justify to the public opinion that we are spending money well, and it makes plenty of sense in geostrategic terms for us to make sure that we are actually promoting development. That is why PCD is important.

What we have to do is to identify appropriate mechanisms, to look at where we are failing to respond to the need for PCD and to seek to find appropriate solutions. Overall, we can probably say that certain amount of progress has been done inside the European Commission. But in the European Council, the decision-making structure is quite different and there is little linkage between one Council formation and another. There is a lot of work and a considerable challenge in terms of the methodologies of decision-making inside the EU. The political will has grown substantially, and we have to look upon it as a technical problem as well.

As Portuguese Presidency, we are particularly keen to

develop two of the aspects that are identified under the twelve themes. One is migration, and already, considerable reference has been made to it. The problem is that there is no Europe-wide policy on migration and it is up to each country to determine its migration policies. It is important to find mechanisms in a Europe wide framework to respond to the challenges of migration and development. For example, brain drain is a very substantial problem. There would be a considerable outcry if we were to reject doctors coming from poor countries in our national health services. We need to look more carefully at possibilities to promote circular migration, like options to allow people to return to their countries of origin for one or more years without losing rights of residency. If we did that we would probably have a much greater two-way flow than we do now, whereby people may lose residency security if they go back home for more than three or more months, depending on the country. The other area in which we will seek to push the agenda forward is with regard to security, again a delicate subject. Obviously, when talking about PCD, we are saying that we are not going to subordinate security concerns to our development or we are not going to subordinate our development programme to security concerns. But what we must recognise is that there is a very clear linkage between the two of them and we must not be afraid of that linkage. We have learnt a few lessons from the Congo experience, which has helped us to realise how fundamental it is for defence and development people to be in much closer dialogue. Let me give one perhaps banal example that will help to understand some of the difficulties. Everybody knows, as study after study has shown, that in fragile states, the most important thing for securing peace is employment. Yet what we find consistently is peace-keeping troops moving in, and what do they do in order to secure the good will of local people? They build schools or they help to create instruments for the communities in which they are inserted. And

how do they do that? They do that with their own troops, which is precisely an example of how you can use not very highly trained labour to create a sense of usefulness and some sensible spending of money. You will find that opportunity taken away by troops who have their own security-related agenda. By joining our development and defence minds together, we could easily come up with a solution to this kind of problem.

That is just one example aimed at illustrating that there are a wide range of issues in which defence and development people need to work together more closely. A few years back, this issue would have been impossible to deal with because of the great divergence of perspectives. Today, we have sufficient maturity to bring development and defence people together and to discuss how they can take common objectives forward, without infringing the way in which each side thinks about their own sectoral areas and in a manner that respects PCD. These are all issues that we have on the table, and we look forward to the inputs of civil society, such as this initiative here in Europe but also civil society in partner countries with whom we work in order to help us with that agenda.

## Slovenian Views on Policy Coherence: Promote Coherence between Security and Development

ANDREJ STER, SECRETARY OF STATE, SLOVENIA

The subject of this Conference could not be more appropriate. We are witnessing an increasingly complex situation in the developing world. Multidimensional effects of globalisation, regional conflicts and terrorism pose a threat to sustainable development. Millions of people in developing countries are still living in poverty, without access to healthy food and pure water.

We are all committed to the UN Millennium Declaration but we have to find appropriate ways of achieving the agreed goals. More efficient development cooperation, which involves a considerable increase in funds and improved aid delivery, is extremely important, but not sufficient in itself. There is a need to promote coherence between development policy, external relations and other policy areas in order to identify mechanisms that connect different policies with poverty in developing countries.

Together, we as the EU are a powerful global actor that has the opportunity to act effectively against poverty and



Andrej Ster

inequality. The EU has expressed its commitment to coherence and agreed to give prioritised attention to a set of twelve policy sectors. Our task now is to take practical steps and create an effective mechanism to make our commitments a reality. The updated rolling work programme on Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) will serve as a checklist.

The EU's commitment to policy coherence has recently grown stronger but first and foremost, we have to create transparency at national level. Together with Germany and Portugal, we have drawn up a joint 18-month programme, comprising the issues which are likely to have an important development dimension. I can assure that Slovenia will do its utmost to ensure that development concerns will be fully integrated into the policy spectrum at all relevant levels and sectors.

Violent conflicts as well as other security reasons are among the biggest obstacles to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In order to effectively prevent security threats, which affect European security as well, we should act towards solving the root causes of these threats, including poverty, poor governance and inequality. This means promoting human security which can be done with the help of development policy and civilian crisis management as well as by taking into account the development policy perspective in the European Security and Defence Policy.

Conflict prevention is another important issue. The EU is politically committed to using its powers and preventing conflicts from spreading. It is essential to prevent, manage and solve conflicts at the regional as well as national levels. However, we have to put in place comprehensive development programmes that take into account all policy sectors in the prevention of conflicts.

The prevention of conflicts on the African continent is especially important. However, in those areas where conflicts do emerge, we should do our best to help those groups that are most vulnerable. It is with this reasoning in mind

that Slovenia decided to consider the issue of women and children in armed conflicts as one of its priorities.

Africa is the biggest challenge for the implementation of the MDGs. For this reason, Africa is and will remain a priority for EU development cooperation. Slovenia is a new player in the field of development cooperation, but we are doing our best. We are currently focusing our development activities on the countries of the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. However Africa is a priority among EU activities and it is also defined as a priority in the 18-month programme on development co-operation.

Slovenia is preparing a development cooperation strategy that will define regional and sectoral priorities. The focus of our development efforts will remain on the countries mentioned, but we shall include a certain number of African countries as well. Although Slovenia is currently not engaged in ODA activities in Africa, there are quite a few Slovenian NGOs and several missionaries working in African countries.

In 2008 Slovenia will make its first contribution to the European Development Fund (EDF), amounting to almost 41 million euros for a period of six years. We will continue to support the programming process and try to take into account, as much as possible, the wishes of our partner countries. To gain better knowledge of the process behind the EDF and of the possibilities for co-operation with ACP countries, Slovenia is making arrangements for a conference on the 10th EDF, to be held in February 2008. This will provide a welcome opportunity to new member states to be better informed about the possibilities of participating in the 10th EDF.

The field of development cooperation is vast and the challenges are immense. In order to improve and strengthen our role, we have to ensure dialogue between different actors in the discussion on coherence. Participative democracy is an integral part of effective and long-term development. Civil society has a crucial role to play in holding governments accountable, influencing and scrutinising the implementation of policy decisions, as well as raising awareness of the impacts of incoherent policies on development.

The Government of Slovenia will do its best to increase the percentage of development aid. We believe that civil society and development education play an important role in making the public understand and accept this increase in development aid in the national budget. During our EU Presidency, the Slovenian platform of NGOs will organise a conference on the role of NGOs in awareness raising and development education. We believe that the conference will improve and strengthen collaboration among NGOs and governmental institutions in the field of development co-operation.



Susan Killick, Prof. Dr. João Gomes Cravinho and Prof. Dr. h. c. Christa Randzio-Plath

## Report of the Panel Discussion

Within the common programme of the Trio presidency of Germany, Portugal and Slovenia, policy coherence for development plays a prominent role, as moderator Susan Killick of Deutsche Welle stressed at the beginning of the debate. Christa Randzio-Plath clarified that coherence needed to be implemented in all of the EU's policy fields, with European agricultural policy still lacking in particular in this respect. "Coherence is not about interaction of the policies, but any of the defined policy fields need to be checked whether they are development friendly or not." She was especially critical of insufficient access for African states to the European market and the EU Member States' agricultural subsidies, which were stifling development. Andrej Ster also called for a coherent policy in the fields of agriculture and fisheries. In his opinion, the negotiations and possible reforms were particularly difficult at internal state level. Here, the as yet low level of his country's involvement in the African continent could be an advantage for the talks during Slovenia's EU Presidency.

### Institutional obstacles

Irrespective of the problems, João Gomes Cravinho stated that all in all, coherence had been given a higher status in European policy. While he deplored the postponement of the EU-Africa Summit, he was optimistic about its being held during Portugal's EU Presidency. Alongside technical co-operation, political dialogue in the context of the common EU-Africa strategy was of particular importance. Here, a key focal point was the strengthening of African institutions, taking regional approaches into consideration. The panel were in agreement that the current institutional setup of the

“Coherence is not about interaction of the policies, but any of the defined policy fields need to be checked whether they are development friendly or not.”

EU was an obstacle to a coherent policy in the area of peace-building, which was demonstrated by the conflicts in Darfur and Somalia. The financial pledges of the donor countries regarding Official Development Assistance and the opportunity to apply other financing mechanisms, such as levies on kerosene, formed a further discussion issue. Christa Randzio-Plath stressed that a once-off increase in development financing was not enough, since it was especially the mode of distribution of finance that played a crucial role.

In the course of the discussion, the decision-making processes in the Council of Europe were clearly highlighted as structural obstacles to coherence. The audience insisted on learning how Portuguese EU Presidency was going to address these problems. João Gomes Cravinho regards the Council's vertical structure as a particular obstacle to a coherent policy, and he spoke out in favour of mechanisms to facilitate better co-operation among the Council's individual working groups.



### The Chinese Engagement in Africa

With a view to the engagement of various new donor countries in the African continent, China's role in Africa was discussed. Christa Randzio-Plath spoke in favour of integrating China into co-operation and not regarding it as a competitor. To João Gomes Cravinho, Chinese presence is also a sign of Africa becoming increasingly interesting for investment. “The

Chinese engagement has served as a wake-up call for Europe.” He regards dialogue at political level with China as important to improve the co-ordination of the different approaches among the donor countries.

A conference participant pointed out the difference between rhetoric and the reality of the EU's action. The question arose whether the approach of development policy coherence would actually result in a serious paradigm shift. João Gomes Cravinho stressed progress made in comparison to the approaches of the nineties and emphasised that coherence could not merely be reduced to the issue of liberalisation. Rather, the basic idea was to achieve an appropriate state of balance between the market and the state.

### Coherence of Security and Migration with Development

With a view to the current troubles in Zimbabwe, it was demanded that the security of people in Africa be guaranteed, and the need was stressed to “talk about the people first” when addressing the topic of security and development in an EU-Africa Summit. The panel referred to the current conflicts in Zimbabwe as worrying. Andrej Ster and João Gomes Cravinho stressed that local wisdom was particularly important in resolving the conflict and that it was crucial to boost dialogue with civil society actors. However, he conceded that the EU's existing instruments were not being sufficiently applied in the case of Zimbabwe.

The coherence of migration and development policy was also discussed controversially. The brain drain of highly qualified employees and the sending back of migrants were mentioned as particularly critical issues in terms of Africa's development. The question arose how a brain gain could be achieved for Africa given the present restrictions. Andrej Ster stressed the need for the EU to adopt a holistic approach to the issue of migration, and given its experience, he maintained that Slovenia was in a favourable position to support this. He was optimistic about the “rolling work programme” on development policy coherence, with common priorities playing a supportive role. João Gomes Cravinho pointed out that a third of the migration flows were occurring in the South itself. However, he also conceded that so far, the development of migration policy had not seen much progress at European level. This was why the input of civil society organisations on the topic was very helpful.

BY JAN THELEN, VENRO

**EU-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP:  
TOWARDS A JOINT EU-AFRICA STRATEGY**

As basic principles in the Cotonou Agreement, partnership, ownership and participation show considerable shortcomings in practice. In December 2005 the EU presented a strategy for Africa that yet remains to be turned into a common EU-Africa-Strategy.

The European Union and the African Union have thus decided to develop a co-owned 'joint strategy' which reflects the needs and aspirations of the peoples of Africa and Europe. The purpose of this joint strategy is to develop a political vision and practical approaches for the future partnership between the EU and Africa, based on mutual respect, common interests and the principle of ownership.

Because of the shortcomings on the consultation to establish the EU-Africa-Strategy, a new public consultation was officially launched in order to elaborate in a participative manner a joint EU-Africa Strategy. This is to evolve into a joint declaration at the second EU-Africa Summit that should take place in Lisbon at the end of 2007.

The joint strategy that emerges from this process should therefore not just be a strategy for officials, but also one to which civil society on both continents can relate, contribute and support in their own work. But the timeframe is tight. How can it be ensured that African and European NGOs will be able to participate substantially? Is the strategy going to give greater consideration to the interests of the African countries? Does this new process represent a paradigm shift in European policy vis-à-vis the NGOs?

As the final step of the first phase of the public consultation, ECDPM organised a Civil Society Conference in cooperation with VENRO. The Conference, which was held on 23 and 24 April 2007 in Bad Honnef, was attended by 104 participants and allowed African and European Civil Society actors to formulate expectations vis-à-vis the EU and the AU regarding the contents of the EU-Africa Joint Strategy and their role in it. Key messages and recommendations were identified and communicated to the official negotiators.



Dr. Agnès Abuom

## Never Break the Pot that Keeps you Together

KEYNOTE BY DR. AGNÈS ABUOM,  
ALL AFRICAN CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES (AACC),  
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC)

Improvement of the EU Africa Partnership calls for policy, attitudinal and structural changes both in Africa and Europe and within the NGO sector. Indeed the NGOs in Europe and Africa have and can play a role in improving partnership. I will highlight a few areas and challenges that NGOs need to build upon and address in order to become instruments of facilitating viable and effective EU Africa Partnership.

### Context of NGOs

The NGO sector in Africa only gained prominence about 15 years ago because before that development was almost a preserve of the state. In fact, most bilateral and multilateral aid was channelled directly to governments between 1960 and 1985. Repressive and dictatorial regimes in Africa did not value the place of Civil Society.

Today, NGOs are an essential part of contemporary societies with clear legal and operational entities. Therefore, NGOs are development actors in their own right making significant contributions in areas such as governance, peace and conflict resolution, social service delivery, human rights, gender equality, poverty alleviation and transfer of knowledge. They have alternative windows of opportunity to reach communities in need, especially those on the margins of the society, where governments are at times unable to deliver. NGOs promote and support the participation of people, ranging from participation of women and minorities in local decision-making processes to the formulation of

“Partnership between the EU and Africa can be improved if NGOs and their role is recognised and safeguarded by EU and African governments.”

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), involvement in the context of the “Peer Review Mechanism” of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and having a say in developing EU policies.

Over the years, African and European NGOs have forged working relationships and partnerships. The African and European NGOs now network more globally through spaces like the World Social Forum. Around the world, issue-based networks for advocacy are in place that reinforce the sharing of information and learning. But it would be an oversight not to mention that the space of engagement has continued to be contested. It is incumbent upon NGOs to define and continuously protect their space if they are to play their rightful role of being the watchdog of society.

### **Roles of African and European NGOs in an improving EU-African Partnership**

NGOs have a great role to play in improving the EU African partnership. In order to effectively play this role, basic pre-conditions are important.

1. The relationship between African and European NGOs must be one of inter-dependency aimed at realising mutually agreed upon goals.
2. Partnership need to be strengthened so that they are mutually accountable to one another.
3. NGOs in the EU countries and Africa must set their agendas by their own and should never be perceived or reduced to sub-contractors of agendas that mitigate the purpose of their existence.
4. The NGOs in the EU and Africa need to secure safe and defined space in society where they can act within clearly defined legal regimes that promote their work.
5. EU and African governments should, in consultation with NGOs, evolve processes of budget allocations and accountability of resources that are transparent and supportive of the NGO agenda.
6. Finally, the role of NGOs should be articulated and properly understood within EU and African governments and community circles and mechanisms developed that root out those that do not subscribe to the NGO code of conduct.

### **How then can NGOs improve EU Africa partnership?**

Popular participation in developmental process is an imperative, and hence partnership between the EU and Africa can be improved if NGOs and their role is recognised and safeguarded by EU and African governments. The principle of participation of NGOs in policy formulation and implementing processes as well as setting the agenda for development should be adhered to by EU African partnership. Further, NGOs should advocate for policy change on the EU eligibili-

ty criteria particularly regarding access to EU funding for capacity building and strengthening civil society at large. In their development policy Manifesto “Prospects for Africa – Europe’s policies”, African and European NGOs set up demands to improve the EU Africa Partnership in different sectors such as trade, security policies, HIV/AIDS, energy policies, climate change and gender.

The two coming decades seem ripe for the Europeans and the Africans to start a new era of co-operation, based on a balanced partnership. It is evident that NGOs are active and can influence processes of social transformation. Therefore, both the EU and Africa must provide space for intervention, to influence policy, and to participate in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, it is time for the closed closets of governments to open for popular input to their deliberations.

NGOs come to the table with long experience and advocacy on gender, climate/environment and service delivery including peace-building that an EU Africa partnership needs to acknowledge. Africa needs an EU Africa partner-



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ship that will ensure that EPAs produce the desired results, namely just peace and sustainable development. This partnership can only be mutually reinforcing if principles and values undergirding it are mutually adhered to and followed. NGOs should continue to expand the space of one global society where we all acknowledge collective responsibility for one another.

But as the African saying goes, “Never break the pot that keeps you together”. NGOs must ensure that the life web that Africa has does not break. That poverty does not break this continent that has partly made Europe what it has become. Instead, it is incumbent upon NGOs to ensure that EU and African policies enrich life, protect life, enhance life and sustain life. NGOs in the EU and Africa should never allow their pots to be broken by state machineries.



Louis Michel

## Euro-Africa Partnership will be a Political Alliance, a Global alliance and an Alliance between People

LOUIS MICHEL, COMMISSIONER FOR EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND HUMANITARIAN AID

It is a pleasure to be with you and to evaluate together the relations between Europe and Africa and the important role of European and African NGOs in these relations. The last two years have been a very important period for the relations between Europe and Africa. The EU Strategy for Africa, adopted in 2005, has provided a new impetus to the partnership and has enabled us to strengthen the consistency of our policies, to better coordinate the action of the Commission and Member States, and, above all, it has given a new strategic dimension and a higher level of ambition to these relations. This year, we must face the next challenge: to define together a genuine Joint Strategy, an ambitious and voluntary pact which should constitute the political context and framework for the relations between Europe and Africa for the next ten years. Personally, I believe that this Pact is the "now or never" opportunity to conclude an intercontinental strategic alliance of a new type with Africa, based on a "Euro-African consensus" of values, of interests and of strategic objectives. This Euro-Africa partnership will be a political alliance, a global alliance and an alliance between people.

### A Political Alliance

First and foremost, this Joint Strategy will constitute an important political instrument. Political dialogue is fundamental. It has to be permanent, honest and constructive. It is the same political approach which inspires the current pro-

gramming of our support for the national and regional development strategies. In August 2006, the European Commission presented an initiative on governance proposing complementary financial support – an incentive tranche of around three billion euros – to countries which adopt a credible reform action plan with regards to governance. This is crucial, because there will be no sustainable development without states standing as guarantor, adjudicator and regulator in the interests of the population. But more important than the additional resource allocation, is the dialogue on the engagements and the reforms chosen by the African partners.

Civil society has a key role in building this political alliance. In many African countries, civil society is a driver of change, a force that can ultimately push towards a home grown and sustainable concept of state and governance. But for doing so, civil society needs space to breath, to raise its voice when needed. That is why I have personally insisted that civil society gets involved in shaping the development policies and strategies of their country. I have insisted they are an integral part of the dialogue on and programming of the 10th European Development Fund. I acknowledge there will always be room for improvement. In some cases, the European Commission has not been proactive enough. In other cases, African civil society had difficulties in getting itself organised – paradoxically mostly in those countries where they are needed most, such as fragile states or autocratic regimes. But I believe that civil society participation is becoming the rule rather than the exception.

Let me add one consideration: I would like to urge European NGOs to work with local NGOs where they exist and to encourage the creation and the development of local NGOs where they do not exist yet.

### A Global Alliance

Globalisation shows today that Africa is not "different". What is different is the degree of gravity of the challenges which arise and the capacity to take advantage of the benefits of globalisation. During 2007, new cooperation could be envisaged to meet these challenges. Climate change provides a good example.

Although responsibility for global warming lies primarily with the developed countries, the effects of climate change are universal. Since 2004, the EU Action Plan on climate change and development guides the mainstreaming of climate change concerns, and adaptation, into EU development cooperation. On top of this, we need to think about and discuss with our African partners additional ways of supporting adaptation measures in the most vulnerable developing countries.

“I have personally insisted that civil society gets involved in shaping the development policies and strategies of their country.”

In last January, the European Commission submitted its proposal for the negotiations of an international post-2012 agreement on the reduction of greenhouse emissions, with the long-term objective of limiting the rise of global temperature to within 2°Celsius in relation to pre-industrial levels. One can only hope that this example will be followed world-wide, and that the forthcoming international framework negotiations will be affected by the obvious need to act quickly. Europe and Africa must become strong allies in this context.

Another challenge ahead of us is the gradual integration of Africa into the world economy. After more than thirty years of bilateral trade with Europe, African countries still export just a few basic commodities, most of which fetch lower prices than they did twenty years ago. New solutions like of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are necessary and urgent. They will change our relationship, from one that offers tariff preferences – an eroding lifeline – to one that builds lasting and more efficient regional and international markets for the ACP. Let me be clear: trade is a means – not an end in itself. It is a means to further sustainable economic development that can move Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific countries from dependency to opportu-

programmes based on the same principle of combining loans and subsidies.

### **An alliance between people**

Finally, the future Joint EU-Africa-Strategy should cover a third fundamental dimension: that of a people's alliance. A true partnership is not only developed in the corridors of government buildings. Civil society in all its forms – be it NGOs, trade unions, employers' organisation, etc. – plays an essential and complementary role.

Development must be the concern of everyone: mobilising European and African citizens is crucial to achieving poverty reduction. The involvement of an effective, flourishing civil society is an essential ingredient in this process and indeed the best way to ensure that development is not just an abstract concept but an instrument facilitating exchange, between North and South.

This is why there participation will be of utmost importance if we want to make the migration centres a real success. We will never succeed in better managing migration if we think it is a government business only.

This is also why I have recently launched a wide-ranging public consultation together with President Konaré of the African Union Commission calling on all members of Civil Society to participate fully in shaping the joint EU-Africa-Strategy. In a two-stage process, the consultation will feed first into a draft discussed at the EU-Africa Ministerial Troika meeting in Brussels on 15 May and secondly into the final EU-Africa-Strategy which should be adopted towards the end of the year at the EU/Africa summit. I want you to be partners and constructive critics. Support us in what you think we are doing right. And tell us what you think we can do better.

I also count on you, Africans and Europeans, members of civil society, trade unions and others to make concrete proposals on how to sustain a civil society dialogue beyond the Lisbon Summit.

The Joint Strategy will be a start rather than the end of a process. Your involvement is the best guarantee of obtaining an alliance between Africa and Europe which goes well beyond a simple declaration, and which carries on trade, twinning, and dialogue between the two continents well beyond 2007.

The opportunity is given, by this reflection, to make this year a watershed where Europe will be able to show once and for all that it has ceased considering Africa as a recipient or as a problem.

Let us fight for a genuine partnership from continent to continent, for equal players in rights and in duties, for an alliance between fully committed actors of the global multi-polar system.



Deutsche Welthungerhilfe

nity. Of course, EPAs will require adjustment. The EU has increased its budget support and is ready to assist with fiscal reform and adjustment to any net fiscal losses observed as a result of EPAs. We are also ready to discuss regional financing mechanisms to that effect.

Of course, trade and regional markets will only develop if we have the necessary infrastructure in place. This is why the Commission has launched an EU-Africa partnership for infrastructure in order to foster inter-connectivity at the regional and continental levels. About 60 millions of euros have already been mobilized. Large amounts from the 10th European Development Fund will also be affected to this Fund which complements the Water and Energy Facilities, two

## We always Learn Something New from Africa

JUSTIN KILCULLEN, PRESIDENT OF CONCORD

In 50 years, Europe and Africa have come a long way and our continents are at a crossroad: We, in Europe, are trying to revive the flame of the European integration process and make real the dreams of the European “founding fathers”. Africa is building its own process of integration and cooperation with the creation of the African Union. Both continents are in search of peace, democracy and freedom, solidarity and prosperity. This is a unique opportunity to better understand the present and to look towards the future, to have a shared reflection on the future of the partnership between Europe and Africa.

First of all, time should be our ally. We would like to see this relationship built within a joint project, owned by both parties, that actively engages with citizens and civil society organisations. We believe that the future of EU-Africa relations does deserve in-depth debates and exchanges with all the stakeholders. Such an important process should not be hurried to meet a deadline. The EU-Africa Summit foreseen for December 2007 in Lisbon, if it happens, must be a milestone in this process and not an end in itself. We are of course aware of the political constraints that the organisation of such a summit is facing. However, we think that the November Summit can be a moment of public debate, which would agree on a road-map in order to finalise the strategy in 2008/2009.

Any joint EU-Africa-Strategy should include concrete deliverables on commitments made to African countries: Increasing development assistance, making trade a real tool for development, and the strengthening of political dialogue based on mutual respect. The Joint strategy should also include a shared commitment to the promotion of all human rights and the fight against poverty by delivering on MDGs and the development aims of the Cotonou Treaty. The EU’s role in climate change and environmental degradation in Africa should be addressed.

### Civil Society Engagement in the EU-Africa Partnership

What is the vision of CONCORD of the role of civil society, particularly in the North, in building this EU-Africa joint project?

It is worthy recalling that civil society is an important actor in developing countries in empowering people and organisations in the fight against poverty, the promotion of human rights and democracy adding value through its independent, autonomous, non-governmental nature.



Justin Kilcullen

It has a crucial role to play in building ownership and participation in national development strategies as well as holding public bodies to account. All of this is increasingly accepted as a cornerstone of international development policy.

Civil society organisations have a key role in contributing to the emergence of new civil society organisations, building international alliances to respond to global challenges (Trade, Human Rights and Democracy, International Governance), and acting as a bridge between EU citizens, EU institutions and developing countries. European development NGOs occupy a very specific position among global and EU civil society organisations, with which they have strong links and establish alliances. European NGOs are able to connect the concerns, struggles and political messages of citizens and organisations in developing countries with those of civil society in the Union. In the EU, NGOs ensure that citizens, through public awareness and development education, are well informed on the links and impact of European and global policies in poor countries.

I would like to focus on three main aspects of the action of civil society in Europe in fostering the EU-Africa partnership: holding governments to account; acting as stakeholders of policy dialogue in Europe; raising awareness and mobilising public opinion.

One key challenge in the EU-Africa partnership is governance and the strengthening of domestic accountability. We must reinforce domestic accountability of States and institutions to citizens in both Africa and in Europe, by means of transparency, dialogue and empowering Parliaments and civil society.

In this framework we firmly believe civil society, together with parliamentarians, have many areas of shared responsibility in bringing about better governance. Governance for us is above all rooted in a human rights perspective: people have the right to participate in decisions that will affect them and need to be enabled to exercise this right.

“There is the right of civil society in Europe to look at the wider picture of government commitment to Africa and to ensure that all policies are coherent with the objective of poverty eradication.”

Furthermore, countries have the right to own their own development strategies and their institutions need to be given the means to exercise that right. It is the right and the duty of civil society in Europe to increase the level of political will and to hold our governments accountable. We must ensure that the EU member states deliver on the commitments they have made to Africa, particularly in 2005 and even before. Let me remind you that more than half of European citizens expect the European Union to play a key role in Africa.

There is then the duty and the right of civil society in Europe to look at the wider picture of government commitment to development and to Africa and to ensure that all policies across government are coherent with the objective of poverty eradication, as MDG 8 promises. We need to ensure that these issues are not falling off the agendas of parliamentary committees and Governments and that they are properly reported on and debated in a timely and transparent fashion.

Europe must lead with example: making its own development programmes and projects a model of transparency and good governance. In particular, Europe must evaluate and learn from its past failures and make the results accessible to the public.

Moreover, civil society organisations in Europe are increasingly looking and scrutinising the accountability of European companies operating in Africa as well.

Regarding policy dialogue in Europe, the elaboration of the Africa strategy provides a timely opportunity to launch broad European and national debates about the future of the relations between our two continents.

For instance, we would like to propose creating spaces for dialogue on a co-ordinated national and EU level by organising a “day of discussion and debate on development issues” and particularly the future of the relations between the EU and Africa could be one of the main focuses. This could take place for instance on 17 October, which is the International Day for the Eradication of poverty.

More broadly, European Civil Society, and CONCORD as a legitimate part of civil society in Europe, would like to start off a long-term, inclusive and coherent frame for dialogue on development policies with civil society organisations in Europe.

The EU has a deep responsibility to enforce the European civil society organizations as an expression of solidarity between European citizens and people of the South, and as agents for innovation and proposals of new development policies. It is clear that the ability of the EU to effectively play the role to which it aspires will critically depend on the support it has from Europe's own citizens.

NGOs in the North ensure international solidarity with the poor by mobilising the millions of Europeans who contribute time, energy and resources in the fight against poverty and injustice. The breadth and depth of the commitment of the general public to this global justice is amply demonstrated in their ongoing financial support to development and relief NGOs, as well as their willingness to come out on the streets and make their voices heard when necessary.

Although we have our specific role to play as European organisations, it is important to say that we work hand-to-hand with our counterparts and colleagues in Africa. Broader information exchanges and discussions are taking place and solidarity is strengthened. We seek to capture, analyse, highlight, facilitate and promote the voices and participation of our partners in Africa.

CONCORD and its members have put the EU-Africa partnership at the core of their work: the Presidency manifesto “Prospects for Africa – Europe’s Policies” was jointly drafted by African and German civil society organisations; two weeks ago, civil society organisations from Europe and ACP countries met in Brussels to discuss, strategise and agree on joint actions about the current challenges that the ACP



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countries are facing and the impact of the Africa strategy on the implementation of the Cotonou agreement and its partnership principles; and the Portuguese platform of CONCORD will organise a “Civil Society Forum for Euro-African Dialogue” that will be another step in this process of building our shared vision as civil society. Let us have the opportunity to say what we do want and to be truly visionary.

Finally, to achieve real partnership, the EU must be ready to learn from African experience and analysis. I would like to finish with an old Roman proverb “Semper aliquid novi ex Africa” we always learn something new from Africa.

## Report of the Panel Discussion

Whereas both Agnes Abuom and Justin Kilcullen referred to the historic importance of the common EU-Africa strategy and stressed the role of civil society in their speeches, Commissioner Michel revealed doubts about the legitimacy and representativeness of civil society organisations. While he stressed the importance of political dialogue with civil society and emphasised the European Commission's endeavouring to create an alliance among people and not only between governments with the planned common EU-Africa strategy, he stated that there was a discrepancy between the mandate and the role of the NGOs. In many countries, particularly in Africa, civil society was weak, and NGOs played a dubious role.

In the subsequent discussion, he expressed his surprise at the NGOs splitting the political world into a government and an NGO side. This division was artificial and could not be maintained. Civil society organisations also bore political responsibility. NGOs were generally too distrustful. Michel stated that, for example, he knew of no serious argument against the introduction of the EPAs, and in spite of this,

**“In some African countries, the wall between civil society and government is a result of politicians' misconduct.”**

European NGOs were urging their African partners to protest at the EPAs.

Agnes Abuom replied that the point and purpose of the NGOs was not only to oppose governments. Civil society often worked together with the government. In many countries, it

was performing social services – especially in the education and health sectors – that were really up to the state. “In some African countries, the wall between civil society and government is a result of politicians' misconduct.” Distrust started when the will of the people was consciously overheard. For example, African civil society knew hardly anything about the history or the status quo of the EPA negotiations. It needed more time to familiarise itself with the contents and formulate its positions. If governments were to now sign these agreements without informing their citizens in detail and integrating them into the process, mistrust was the obvious result. In many of Africa's countries, the weakness of civil society could be explained by its being oppressed by the government. It is important to form alliances between politicians and representatives of civil society that still had a conscience and a sense of responsibility.

Regarding the EPA agreements, Justin Kilcullen added: “The European NGOs do not prescribe their African partners how to respond to the negotiations.” Rather, it was the Africans who approached the Europeans with the request that



Louis Michel und Dr. Agnès Abuom

they lobby against the agreements. Louis Michel replied that the Economic Partnership Agreements had to be signed by the governments or the political institutions and that the politicians had been elected. In those cases in which the government representatives did not represent the will of their citizens, the EU was attempting to talk to civil society. However, in this respect, the Commission was severely restricted in its activities. The problem was the regulations and structures within the EU and its institutions. For example, he was not allowed to hand on the country strategies to the European Parliament for further commenting. While he had done this informally, Parliament had no influence. This was why he was in favour of budgeting the EDF (European Development Fund), for in this case, it would have to be submitted to Parliament.

Questions from the audience related mainly to the ways and means of securing civil society participation in the common EU strategy. Commissioner Michel stressed that the schedule had to be kept to and that he could not further extend civil society participation. Moreover, elected politicians were not less legitimised than civil society.

However, one of the participants had her doubts about this statement and stressed that neither the European Commission had been directly elected.

Finally, Justin Kilcullen stressed that, on the occasion of the EU's 50th anniversary and the 50th anniversary of Africa's independence, the opportunity at last had to be grasped to develop a true partnership based on mutual respect and integrating the people. In this regard, a common strategy could only be the start, and not the end. In her final address, Agnes Abuom expressed her wish that the people be the basis of this partnership. A common EU-Africa strategy had to contribute to preserving and enriching lives.

**“The people must be the basis of the Euro-African partnership.”**

BY VERENA WIESMANN, VENRO

## Programme

### Moderation

Dr. Claudia Warning, Chairperson, VENRO

08:30

Arrival and Registration of the Participants

09:00

Opening Remarks

Erik Bettermann, Deutsche Welle

Dr. Claudia Warning

Part I

**Are Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) pro-development? The policy coherence for development of EU-ACP free trade agreements**

09:30

Key Note

Tetteh Hormeku, Third World Network Africa

Panel Discussion

Tetteh Hormeku

Jacob Gyeke Buba, Director General of Customs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Dr. Klaus Schilder, WEED/terre des hommes

Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development

Chair: Petra Pinzler, die Zeit

12:15

Lunch

Part II

**View on the Coherence Programme of the Forthcoming Presidencies**

13:30

Key Note

Prof. Dr. h. c. Christa Randzio-Plath, Vice Chair, VENRO

Panel Discussion

Prof. Dr. João Cravinho, Secretary of State, Portugal

Prof. Dr. h.c. Christa Randzio-Plath

Andrej Šter, Secretary of State, Slovenia

Chair: Susan Killick, Deutsche Welle

15:30

Coffee Break

**How to improve the EU-African Partnership? The role of African and European NGOs**

Part III

Key Note

16:00

Dr. Agnes Abuom, All African Conference of Churches (AACC)/World Council of Churches (WCC)

Panel Discussion

Dr. Agnes Abuom

Justin Kilcullen, President of CONCORD

Louis Michel, Commissioner for European Development Policy and Humanitarian Aid

Chair: Dr. Claudia Warning

Conclusion

17:50

Come together

18:00



Speakers



**Dr. Agnes Abuom** has been Ecumenical Accompanier for the All African Conference of Churches (AACC)/World Council of Churches (WCC) for Horn of Africa, East Africa and Great Lakes since June 2006. From 1998 to 2006, she was Executive Director of TAABCO Research and Development Consultants, prior to which she worked as Provincial Development and Human Resource Coordinator for the Anglican Church of Kenya. In 1987, she finished her PhD in Development Studies at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. She released several publications, especially on the role of women and the church in development. Beside many other functions and charges she is Co-President of the World Conference on Religions for Peace.



**Erik Bettermann** has been Director-General of Deutsche Welle (DW) since October 2001. He studied philosophy, education and social education in Cologne and Bonn and worked as freelancer for Cologne daily newspapers. As of 1982, he was department head at the Federal Ministry of Youth,

Family and Health and subsequently head of the Vice-President's Office in the German Bundestag. From 1985 to 1989, Erik Bettermann was head of department in the SPD party executive and from 1989 to 1991 deputy federal executive director. From 1992 to 2001, he was member of the City Council of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, while from 1995 to 2001, he worked as a member of the Senate, representative for Federal Affairs, Europe and Economic Cooperation.



**Prof. Dr. João Cravinho** is Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Portugal. He graduated and did his MSc at the London School of Economics and holds a PhD from Oxford University. His most important publication in the area of International Relations is "Visoes do Mundo" (2002) and

written mainly while Visiting Researcher at Georgetown University, in Washington. In addition to his academic career, Prof. Cravinho has devoted several years of his activity to the area of Development Cooperation. Among other activities, he was consultant for the European Commission and the World Bank. In 1999, he coordinated the inter-ministerial report of the Portuguese Government concerning assistance to East Timor; in 2000 he worked with the Portuguese presidency of the European Union and from January 2001 to June 2002 he was president of the Institute for Portuguese Cooperation.



**Tetteh Hormeku** is Head of Programmes at Third World Network-Africa. Holding a Master of Laws degree in International Economic Law, he is in charge of development and economic policy work of TWN-Africa. For the past ten years, Tetteh Hormeku has been

involved in research, organisation and policy advocacy on the implications of international trade regimes for the development of African countries. Among other things, TWN-Africa runs a trade programme seeking to make international trade and investment regimes respond more sensitively to the needs of African countries and their people. TWN-Africa coordinates the Africa Trade Network, which links up civil society organisations across Africa involved in policy advocacy on trade issues.



**Justin Kilcullen** is Director of Trócaire, the Irish Catholic agency for World Development. Trócaire is the official overseas development agency of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It was set up by the Irish Catholic Bishops in 1973 to express the concern of the Irish

Church for the suffering of the world's poorest and most oppressed people. At the June General Assembly of CONCORD, Mr Kilcullen was unanimously elected new President of CONCORD. He is the first Irish person to have been elected president of this influential European body, a confederation of more than 1 600 European non-governmental organisations (NGOs), of which VENRO is a Member. He replaced Mr Frans Polman, who had led the NGO confederation since its creation in 2003.



**Susan Killick** is responsible for the Africa output of the English Service of Deutsche Welle (DW) and joined the Africa English Service of Radio DW, subsequently headed the Africa Desk for several years. She grew up in Johannesburg, South Africa, and was mainly educated in England. Susan Killick studied Drama and German at the University of Bristol and the Justus Liebig University in Gießen. She went on many trips to Africa, among others for two co-productions in Nigeria as well as in Ghana and Zambia.



**Louis Michel** is European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid. As a prominent member of the French-speaking liberal party, the Mouvement Réformateur, he was Belgium's foreign minister until July 2004. From 1999 to 2004, he was Belgian

Foreign Minister and Vice Prime Minister, until in July 2004, the Verhofstadt government appointed Michel as its candi-

date for the Belgian seat on the European Commission led by José Manuel Durão Barroso, to replace former commissioner Philippe Busquin. On August 12th 2004, Louis Michel was nominated to become EU commissioner. He completed Busquin's term as European Commissioner for Science and Research and now serves as European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Development.

objectives. Klaus Schilder is a biologist and has been working for WEED since 1999.



**Petra Pinzler** is European correspondent for the weekly journal DIE ZEIT in Brussels. She graduated in economics and political sciences while attending the Cologne School of Journalism. After studying and training, she worked for several newspapers and broadcasting stations, in particular on economic and development issues. In 1994, she started working for DIE ZEIT, first of all writing about international economic and development policy in the editorial department for economics. From 1998 to 2002, she worked as USA correspondent in Washington D. C., and since 2002, she has been reporting from Brussels on European politics and economics. She won the Robert Bosch Foundation journalistic award (1999), the Karl Klasen Award (2001) and the Development Politics Award (2007).



**Andrej Ster** is Slovenia's State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He obtained a law degree at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana. In 1990, he was elected to the Assembly of the Republic. At the same time, he was appointed Secretary of the Interior and member of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council in the Municipality of Kranj. Between 1993 and 1994, he served as State Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior, and between 1994 and 1997 he was Minister of the Interior. Between 1997 and 2004, he served as State Undersecretary for Visa Policies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in 2004, he became Director General for International Law and Protection of Interests at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



**Prof. Dr. h.c. Christa Randzio-Plath** is Vice Chair of VENRO. She works as a lawyer, advisor to the European Commission and lecturer at the University of Hamburg and College of Europe in Hamburg. Since 1984, she has been President of the Marie-Schlei Association, a non-governmental organisation giving financial support to women's projects in Third World countries. From 1989 to 2004, she was member of the European Parliament, working from 1999 as Chairwoman of the committee on economic and monetary affairs. Currently, she is Chairwoman of the SPD Control Committee. Christa Randzio-Plath studied law, sociology, development and journalism at Kiel, Bonn, Strasbourg, Amsterdam and Pescara Universities and obtained a Diploma in comparative legal sciences, development aid policy and French.



**Dr. Claudia Warning** was elected chairperson of the Association of German Development Non-Governmental Organisations (VENRO) in December 2005, after being vice chairperson of the board for four years. She is a member of the board of the Church Development Service (EED) based in Bonn and heads the department „International Programmes“, which promotes development projects in over 80 countries worldwide. She studied in Bonn and Pune (India) and holds a PhD in Geography. Claudia Warning has gained experience in the field of development cooperation in different governmental and non-governmental institutions, such as the German Foundation for International Development (DSE, now InWEnt), the German Commission Justitia et Pax / Exposure- and Dialogue Programme as well as the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs, where she was in charge of bi- and multilateral co-operation in the field of urban development.



**Dr. Klaus Schilder** is project manager for EU North-South Policy at World Economy, Ecology & Development (WEED) in Berlin. Over the last few years, Klaus Schilder has been focusing his attention on regional and bilateral trade and investment agreements of the European Union, and has been rigorously keeping track of the EU-ACP negotiations for new trade agreements under the Cotonou agreement. In addition, he is closely following the current reform process of European Development Policy, giving special attention to the interlinkages with foreign, security and other external policy



**Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul** has been Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development since 1998. In 1979, she moved into European politics, becoming a Member of the European Parliament. There, she worked in particular in the Committees on External Economic Relations and Women's Rights and Gender Equality. The main focus of her work during this time was on foreign trade, European development policy and international agreements. Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul has been a Member of the German Bundestag since 1987. She represents the constituency of Wiesbaden, which elected her directly with large majorities in the last three polls. She was the SPD Parliamentary Group's spokesperson on European policy until 1998.

Participants

NO	NAME	ORGANISATION	NO	NAME	ORGANISATION
1	Hussaini Abdu	ActionAid International	42	Uta Dirksen	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
2	Samuel Doe Ablordeppey	Daily Graphic Ghana	43	Veronika Divisova	People in Need
3	Dr. Agnes Abuom	All African Council of Churches/ World Council of Churches	44	Karin Döhne	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED)
4	Marija Adanja	Ambassador/Ministry of Foreign Affairs Slovenia	45	Ruth Duggan	terre des hommes
5	Can Akdeniz	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI)	46	Ketan Dulal	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn
6	Gabriele Albert-Trappe	Marie-Schlei-Verein	47	Mo Edoga	Artist
7	Paola Alvarado	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	48	Tillmann Elliesen	Entwicklung + Zusammenarbeit
8	Roswitha Amels	Universität Duisburg-Essen	49	Ursula Engelhardt	IDEE-Europa
9	Rein Antonissen	11.11.11	50	Sara Erlandsson	European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM)
10	Carlos Arellano Esparanza	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	51	Rainer Falk	Informationsbrief Weltwirtschaft & Entwicklung
11	Maud Arnould	European Commission	52	Julia Fehl	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED)
12	Deb Aryal	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	53	Dr. Thomas Feidieker	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)
13	Ester Asín Martínez	CONCORD	54	Juhan Frede	
14	Casey Atkins	International Politics Society	55	Michael Frein	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED)
15	Réka Balogh	Hungarian Association of NGOs for Deve- lopment and Humanitarian Aid (HAND)	56	Gundula Fuehrer	Greenpeace
16	Dirk Bange	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)	57	Dr. Thomas Fues	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
17	Marie Bartels	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	58	Aude Galli	CARE International
18	Alexander Baum	European Commission – Directorate General for Development	59	David Gartner	Global AIDS Alliance
19	Marc Baxmann	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)	60	Mikaela Gavas	BOND
20	Sophie Beaumont	Light for the World	61	Barbara Ghiringhelli	Centro Ambrosiano di Documentazione per le Religioni
21	Dr. Frank Begemann	Bundesanstalt für Landwirtschaft und Ernährung	62	Dr. Paul Goodison	European Research Office
22	Axel Berger	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	63	Volker Greulich	Sozial- und Entwicklungshilfe des Kolpingwerks
23	Kerstin Bertow	JLU Gießen/Institut für Politikwissenschaft	64	Tina Grotefend	University of Bonn
24	Erik Bettermann	Deutsche Welle	65	Annette Groth	attac
25	Jean Binama	University of Glasgow	66	Roland Guttack	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)
26	Per Bo	Danish EU-NGO Platform	67	Dr. Hildegard Hagemann	German Commission for Justice and Peace
27	Fedor Böhmert	ASA Institute	68	Guido Hahn	Ruanda Komitee Trier
28	Helge Bork	Global Marshall Plan Initiative	69	Rainer Hakala	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)
29	Delane Botelho	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	70	Heike Hänsel	Mitglied des Deutschen Bundestags
30	Nathalie Bouchez	e.i.n.s. Entwicklungspolitik	71	Sven Harmeling	Germanwatch
31	Jose Alatorre Bremont	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	72	Angela Haynes	HelpAge International
32	Jacob Gyeke Buba	Ministry of Commerce of the Federal Republic of Nigeria	73	Ursula Hein	Informationsstelle südliches afrika (issa)
33	Dr. Rudolf Buntzel	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (EED)	74	Corinna Heineke	Oxfam Deutschland
34	Urs Bürcky	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)	75	Laure Heinrich	ASA-Programm
35	Alexandra Burmann	EED/Brot für die Welt	76	Günther Hensch	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)
36	Antonio Bullon Camarassa	Representation Permanente D'Espagne	77	Susanne Hermes	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn
37	Romy Chevallier	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	78	Helmut Hess	Brot für die Welt
38	Abel Chikomo	Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe	79	Ralf Hexel	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
39	Prof. Dr. João Cravinho	Secretary of State Portugal	80	Anne Heyer	International Politics Society
40	Birgit Dederichs-Bain	Deutsche Welthungerhilfe	81	Marius Hildebrand	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
41	Qinisile Delwa	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	82	Tim Hoesmann	Auswärtiges Amt - Pressedienst
			83	Elena Hofferberth	Junge Menschen für Afrika
			84	Tetteh Hormeku	Third World Network Africa

No	NAME	ORGANISATION	No	NAME	ORGANISATION
85	Pfarrer Ulrich Hossbach		124	Regine Mehl	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
86	Dawei Hu	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	125	Ronny Meincke	Germanwatch
87	Marjan Huc	SLOGA (Slovenian NGDO platform)	126	Ye Meng	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
88	Dr. Walter Hüls	NRW-Ministerium für Generationen, Familie, Frauen und Integration	127	Ulrich Mercker	Eine-Welt-Forum Bonn
89	Sandhya Iyer	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	128	Louis Michel	Commissioner for European Development Policy and Humanitarian Aid
90	Janina Jänsch	LV-NRW DGVN	129	Roger Middleton	Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs) Africa Programme
91	Charles Josselin		130	Heinz Rudolf Miko	Europäische Kommission, Regionale Vertretung in Bonn
92	Marius Kahl	Bundesministerium der Verteidigung (BMVg)	131	Dr. Ulla Mikota	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
93	Tobias Kahler	DATA	132	Sophie Miller	Quaker Council for European Affairs
94	Christopher Kanema	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	133	Wolfgang Minnich	
95	Gérard Karlshausen	CNCD/CONCORD	134	Peter Molt	
96	Muo Kasina	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	135	Sotiris Mousouris	
97	Stefan Kerl	Österreichische EU-Plattform	136	Nelson Muffuh	Christian Aid
98	Amanda Khozi Mukwashi	Skillshare International	137	Dr. André Munzinger	Institut für Evangelische Theologie der Universität zu Köln
99	Joy Kiiru	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	138	Bwire Mwijarubi	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn
100	Justin Kilcullen	CONCORD	139	Demian Naumann	Global Policy Forum Europe
101	Susan Killick	Deutsche Welle	140	Mamadou Ndiaye	African Press Agency
102	Dr. Friedrich Kitschelt	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	141	Eva Christina Nilsson	Church of Sweden/Aprodev/CONCORD Europe Board
103	Susanne Köppen	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)	142	Usia Nkhoma-Ledama	Press Tanzania
104	Reiner Kraetsch	SID Chapter Bonn	143	Sandra Öchslen	InWent
105	Peter Krahl	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	144	V.A. Okoedion	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Brussels
106	Barbara Kremzar	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Slovenia	145	B.M. Okolo	Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Brussels
107	Anke Kurat	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)	146	Günther Oldenbruch	SID Chapter Bonn
108	Kerstin Lanje	Germanwatch	147	Tor-Hugne Olsen	Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum
109	Rilli Lappalainen	Finnish NGDO platform to the EU	148	Christiane Overkamp	CIDSE
110	Jeanne Läät	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	149	Bernd Pastors	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
111	Denise Laufer	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	150	Rina Pavlin Gnidovez	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Slovenia
112	Anna Leão	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	151	Merhawi Petros	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn
113	Christiane Lewerentz		152	Dr. Klaus Piepel	Bischöfliches Hilfswerk Misereor
114	Erich Lischek	Adventistische Entwicklungs- und Katastrophenhilfe (ADRA) Deutschland	153	Petra Pinzler	Die Zeit
115	Astrid Lohbeck	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)	154	Christoph Pohlmann	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
116	Maurice Lorca	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	155	Werner Puschra	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
117	Sadoti Makwaruzi	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	156	Christiane Rabbe	Deutsche Welle
118	Sergio Marelli	Associazione delle ONG Italiane	157	Prof. Dr. h.c. Christa Randzio-Plath	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
119	Maria Martens	Member of the European Parliament	158	William Rasoanaivo	L'Express Dimanche Mauritius
120	Alick Maulawo	ARTS/ZEF University of Bonn	159	Barnim Raspe	bengo
121	Marina May	Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung (DSW)	160	Christoph Rauh	Ständige Vertretung Deutschlands bei der EU
122	Joanna Maycock	ActionAid International	161	Rebecca Rauh	University of Bonn
123	Florence Mc Bain	Coordination SUD	162	Fitsum Resome	Kolping International
			163	Dr. Ludger Reuke	Germanwatch

Participants

NO	NAME	ORGANISATION	NO	NAME	ORGANISATION
164	Anja Reuss	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	203	Mari Tertsunen	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)
165	Pascal Richard	Zimbabwe Watch	204	Jan Thelen	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
166	Ingo Ritz	NETZ Partnerschaft für Entwicklung und Gerechtigkeit	205	Reinold E. Thiel	e.i.n.s. Entwicklungspolitik
167	José Rivas Ochoa	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	206	Klaus Thüsing	Deutsch-Afrikanisches Forum
168	Sophie Robin	Plataforma Portuguesa das ONGD	207	Alexandra Tudoroiu	International Politics Society
169	Rita Roque	Germanwatch	208	Mira Turnsek	International Politics Society
170	Thomas Rottland	World Vision Deutschland	209	Ken Ukaoha	National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS)
171	Michael Ruffert	Evangelischer Pressedienst	210	Karin Ulmer	APRODEV
172	Danuta Sacher	Brot für die Welt	211	Carl Undéhn	Deutsche Welle Radio (English service)
173	Paula Santos	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Portugal	212	Lukas van Fessem	European Parliament (Assistant to Maria Martens MEP)
174	Judith Sargentini	Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa	213	Guido van Hecken	European Parliament – Committee on Development
175	Martina Schaub	NRW Stiftung für Umwelt und Entwicklung	214	Ana Patricia Vara	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
176	Jenny Scheffel	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)	215	Rodrigo Vieira Martins	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
177	Dr. Hildegard Scheu	medico international	216	Annekathrin Vogel	Oxfam Deutschland
178	Dr. Klaus Schilder	WEED/terre des hommes	217	Andreas Vogt	CONCORD
179	Maike Schliebs	Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung	218	Editha von Colberg	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI)
180	Jürgen Schmid	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	219	Nicolaus von der Goltz	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)
181	Maria Schmid	International Politics Society	220	Anja Waldraff	Universität Duisburg-Essen
182	Dr. Evita Schmieg	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	221	Hao Wang	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
183	Dr. Rafael Schneider	Deutsche Welthungerhilfe	222	Lutz Warkalla	General-Anzeiger Bonn
184	Maria Schneider	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	223	Dr. Claudia Warning	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
185	Bernhard Scholz	Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)	224	Richard Weaver	EU-CORD
186	Wolfgang Schomecke	NAD	225	Gottfried Wellmer	KOSA
187	Dr. Iris Schöninger	Deutsche Welthungerhilfe	226	Awa Wendy	Medizinische Hochschule Hannover
188	Dr. Hendrik Schott	Naspers Media Ltd.	227	Thijs Wentink	Evert Vermeer Foundation
189	Susanne Schraa	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)	228	Heidmarie Wiczorek-Zeul	Bundesministerin für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung
190	Maria Schröder	Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster	229	Anna R. Wiedemann	EIRENE
191	Astrid Schwietering	ActionAid International	230	Verena Wiesmann	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)
192	Joachim Seel	International Politics Society, Global Young Greens	231	Guoliang Yang	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
193	Dieter Simon	Welthaus Bielefeld/KOSA	232	Guang Yang	
194	Karine Sohet	APRODEV	233	Franck Yonan	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI)
195	Dorothee Starck	Ständige Vertretung Deutschlands bei der EU	234	Shiming Zhan	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
196	Michael Steeb	Association of German Development NGOs (VENRO)	235	Xiaohui Zhou	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
197	Liz Steele	CARE International	236	Ming Zhu	Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)
198	Christine Steinecke	Allerweltshaus Köln	237	Melanie Zimmer	Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK)
199	Andrej Ster	Secretary of State Slovenia			
200	Kerstin Streich	Europäische Kommission, Regionale Vertretung in Bonn			
201	Elke Stumpf	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ)			
202	Roger Taakam	Mutations Cameroon			

## Petersberg Communiqué on European Development Policy

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the European Union, representatives of the Member States of the European Union and the European Commission met at the Petersberg near Bonn. They recalled the objectives, values and principles of European development policy outlined below and declared the following:

### 1. Objectives and values

Based on the "European Consensus on Development" (2005) the primary and overarching objective of EU development cooperation is the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development, including pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In this endeavour, European development policy operates on the basis of democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principle of equality and the principle of solidarity. The EU reaffirms that development is a central goal in itself; and that sustainable development includes good governance, human rights and political, economic, social and environmental aspects.

With these objectives, European development policy, as a policy area in its own right, is one element of a wider set of EU external actions, all of which should be coherent and take account of the objectives of development cooperation. In many regions of the world, it has become a defining component of wider European external relations.

### 2. Human rights as a fundamental component

Human rights are both the prerequisite for and the goal of sustainable development. We reaffirm the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the UN's human rights covenants and declarations, particularly its Declaration on the Right to Development, and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. The realisation of human rights in developing countries is a key factor in decisions on the form and volume of European development cooperation.

### 3. Gender equality

European development policy affirms the equal rights of men and women. True gender equality and the active involvement of both men and women in social progress are fundamental to poverty reduction. Gender equality must be mainstreamed across all aspects of European development policy.

### 4. Children – our future

Children are the most vulnerable members of society and therefore need the most protection and most assistance. Reducing child mortality is therefore one of European deve-

lopment policy's foremost responsibilities. Basic health care and protection against preventable diseases such as HIV/AIDS are other key tasks.

One of the keys to sustainable development is the provision of wide-ranging support for education in our partner countries. Through its development policy, Europe is supporting both primary education and vocational training. Particular attention is devoted to girls' education.

### 5. Peace and security as a vital prerequisite

Sustainable development will not be possible without lasting peace, and vice versa. EU action for development uses civilian means to support the peaceful resolution of armed conflicts and prevent new violent conflict through support for peace negotiations, demobilisation, demilitarisation and reintegration and support for security sector reform. It is also our aim to control European arms exports and to help limit the proliferation of weapons in areas of conflict in general. Further steps will be taken through European development policy to counter the illicit spread of small arms and light weapons and their ammunitions.

### 6. Ownership and governance

European development policy is geared towards the needs and performance of our partner countries. By providing extensive support for democratic governance, it is making an active contribution towards strengthening effective and transparent public financial management and predictable and responsible government action in Europe's partner countries. In this way, we are encouraging our partners to mobilise their own resources for development and assume ownership of and accountability for their own development. Key aspects in this are the participation of civil society and respect for the role of the parliament.

### 7. More aid and better aid

Europe reaffirms its objective of implementing the Monterrey decisions and the decisions on increasing Official Development Assistance and improving aid effectiveness. In addition to this, we reaffirm the Member States' pledge to increase their development assistance to a total of 0.7 per cent of GNI by 2015 and to collectively achieve the interim goal of 0.56 per cent by 2010. The Member States that joined the Union after 2002 will endeavour to achieve an ODA level of 0.17 per cent of GNI by 2010 and 0.33 per cent by 2015. In total, 50 per cent of Europe's additional ODA funding is to benefit sub-Saharan Africa. Additional budgetary funding, further debt relief and innovative sources of finance will make a major contribution to achieving Europe's ODA timetable.

The European Union has made a strong commitment to implement the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness. Co-ordination of European development policy as a whole will be improved so as to further increase the effectiveness of Europe's development assistance. The EU will strive for harmonisation and a better division of labour. In addition to projects and programmes, increasing use will be made of direct budget support so as to keep down transaction

**8. Environment as the foundation, energy and climate change as major challenges**

A healthy environment is the foundation of human life. No one can survive for long without clean water and healthy food. That is why European development policy is at the forefront of global efforts to achieve sustainable economic activity. Through its development policy, Europe is helping developing countries to implement multilateral environmental agreements and is supporting pro-poor environmental initiatives. It affirms its determination to campaign for a sustainable energy policy and to take effective measures to counter climate change. It also advocates a more integrated international environmental governance structure.

**9. Addressing the root causes of migration**

Migration issues are a central element in the EU's relations with a broad range of third countries, including, in particular, the regions neighbouring the Union, namely the eastern, south eastern and Mediterranean regions. Through European development policy, the positive effects of migration are reinforced and we shall continue to strive to make migration a positive factor for development. European development policy is making an important contribution to addressing the root causes of migration and to ensuring that men and women in the partner countries do not have to leave their home countries for economic reasons.

**10. Decent work as the first step out of poverty**

Decent work is the first step out of poverty. That is why European development policy supports the internationally agreed agenda on decent work for all, i.e. the worldwide implementation of core labour standards, the creation of more employment that generates an adequate income, the realisation of social protection and the facilitation of social dialogue between the main partners within a common strategic framework.

**11. Trade and development**

Trade is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for economic growth and poverty eradication. European development policy is campaigning for improved market access for developing countries, the elimination of export subsidies and the

reduction of the market-distorting support payments provided by the state in industrialised countries. These efforts take the interests of more vulnerable countries into account and seek to achieve an open, fair and properly regulated multi-lateral trade regime. In this context, voluntary social and ecological initiatives, such as Fair Trade, can be an important instrument in sustainable development and poverty reduction. The partner countries, for their part, should ensure that public revenue from international trade, particularly incommodities, is used for development purposes. European development policy is therefore engaged in ensuring that the Economic Partnership Agreements between the ACP partners and the EU are pro-development.

**12. Culture, knowledge and development**

Culture actively reflects processes of change in our societies. A strong cultural identity is an asset for a society in its collective investment in a chosen future. European development policy can help to reinforce those cultural identities which promote diversity, cultural exchange and peace-building values.

Reflecting the gradual emergence of knowledge-based economies on a global scale, European development policy likewise addresses a shared and broad-based access to information which benefits all. European development policy will also support the increased use of information and communication technologies to bridge the digital divide.

**13. The European model – regional integration and multilateralism**

Europe used to be a continent of war. Through the sustained process of European integration, the European Union has become Europe's most successful project for peace of all time. Europe's development over the last 50 years shows that regional associations can achieve political and economic success for the benefit of the people and that the future lies in regional and global multilateralism.

Through its development policy, and based on its own positive experience, Europe is therefore lending the developing countries particular support in the process of regional integration.

## VENRO members

action medeor – Deutsches Medikamenten-Hilfswerk • ADRA – Adventistische Entwicklungs- und Katastrophenhilfe • Ärzte der Welt • Ärzte für die Dritte Welt • Ärzte ohne Grenzen \* • AeJ – Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Evangelischen Jugend • AGEE – Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsethnologie • AGEH – Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungshilfe • agl – Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Eine-Welt Landesnetzwerke • Akademie Klausenhof • Aktion Canchanabury • Andheri-Hilfe Bonn • Arbeiter Samariter Bund Deutschland • AWO International • AT-Verband \* • BDKJ – Bund der Deutschen Katholischen Jugend • Behinderung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit\* • BEI – Bündnis Entwicklungspolitischer Initiativen • Bundesvereinigung Lebenshilfe für Menschen mit geistiger Behinderung • Brot für die Welt • CARE International Deutschland • Casa Alianza Kinderhilfe Guatemala • CCF Kinderhilfswerk • Christliche Initiative Romero • Christoffel-Blindenmission • DEAB – Dachverband entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsgruppen in Baden-Württemberg • DES-WOS – Deutsche Entwicklungshilfe für soziales Wohnungs- und Siedlungswesen • Deutsche Kommission Justitia et Pax • Deutsche Lepra- und Tuberkulosehilfe • Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung • Deutsche Welthungerhilfe • Deutscher Caritasverband – Caritas International • Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband AK „Parität International“ • Deutsches Blindenhilfswerk • Deutsches Komitee Katastrophenvorsorge • Deutsches Rotes Kreuz – Generalsekretariat\* • DGB-Bildungswerk – Nord-Süd-Netz • Die Lichtbrücke • Dritte Welt JournalistInnen Netz • EED – Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst • Eine Welt Netz NRW • Eine Welt Netzwerk Hamburg • EIRENE – Internationaler Christlicher Friedensdienst • Evangelische Akademien in Deutschland • FIAN Deutschland • Gemeinschaft Sant Egidio • Germanwatch Nord-Süd-Initiative • GSE – Gesellschaft für solidarische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit • Handicap International • HelpAge Deutschland e.V. • Hildesheimer Blindenmission e.V. • Hilfswerk der deutschen Lions • ILD – Internationaler Landvolkdienst der KLB • Indienhilfe Herrsching • INKOTA – Ökumenisches Netzwerk • Internationaler Hilfsfonds • Internationaler Verband Westfälischer Kinderdörfer • Johanniter-Unfall-Hilfe – Johanniter International • Jugend Dritte Welt • Kairos Europa – Unterwegs zu einem Europa für Gerechtigkeit • Karl Kübel Stiftung für Kind und Familie • KATE – Kontaktstelle für Umwelt und Entwicklung – Berlin • Kindernothilfe • Lateinamerika-Zentrum • Malteser International • Marie-Schlei-Verein • marrera – Stiftung Frau und Gesundheit • medica mondiale • medico international • Misereor Bischöfliches Hilfswerk • Missionszentrale der Franziskaner • Nationaler Geistiger Rat der Bahà'i in Deutschland • NETZ – Partnerschaft für Entwicklung und Gerechtigkeit • ÖEIW – Ökumenische Initiative Eine Welt • OIKOS Eine Welt • ORT Deutschland • Oxfam Deutschland • Peter-Hesse-Stiftung – Solidarität in Partnerschaft für eine Welt in Vielfalt • Plan international Deutschland • Rhein-Donau-Stiftung • Rotary Deutschland Gemeindedienst \* • Senegalhilfe-Verein • SES – Senior Experten Service • SID – Society for International Development • SODI – Solidaritätsdienst International • Sozial- und Entwicklungshilfe des Kolpingwerkes Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden • Stiftung Nord-Süd-Brücken • Susila Dharma – Soziale Dienste • Terra Tech – Förderprojekte Dritte Welt • terre des hommes Bundesrepublik Deutschland • Tierärzte ohne Grenzen • TransFair – Verein zur Förderung des Fairen Handels mit der „Dritten Welt“ • VEN – Verband Entwicklungspolitik Niedersachsen • VENROB – Verbund entwicklungspolitischer Nichtregierungsorganisationen Brandenburgs • Weltfriedensdienst • Welthaus Bielefeld • Weltladen-Dachverband. • Weltnotwerk der KAB Westdeutschlands • Werkhof Darmstadt • Werkstatt Ökonomie • World Vision Deutschland • W. P. Schmitz Stiftung • WUS – World University Service – Deutsches Komitee • Zukunftsstiftung Entwicklungshilfe bei der GLS Treuhand e.V.

\*) Guest members

**VENRO**, the Association of German development non-governmental organisations (NGOs), is the umbrella organisation of independent and church-related NGOs working in the fields of development cooperation, emergency relief, development education, and advocacy. Currently, VENRO has more than 100 member organisations. In addition to the member organisations, about 2 000 local initiatives and small NGOs are represented in VENRO through regional NGO networks.

The association aims at strengthening the work of NGOs towards poverty eradication, the realisation of human rights and the conservation of natural resources. VENRO

- represents the common interests and positions of the member organisations vis-à-vis the public, the government, the European Commission and other international organisations,
- strengthens the role of NGOs and civil society in development cooperation,
- engages in advocacy for the interests of developing countries and poor sections of society,
- raises public awareness of development cooperation issues.

**VENRO – Verband Entwicklungspolitik deutscher  
Nichtregierungsorganisationen e.V., [www.venro.org](http://www.venro.org)**

#### SECRETARIAT

Dr. Werner-Schuster-Haus  
Kaiserstraße 201, D-53113 Bonn  
Phone +49 (0)228/94 677-0  
Fax +49 (0)228/94 677-99  
Website: [www.venro.org](http://www.venro.org)  
Email: [sekretariat@venro.org](mailto:sekretariat@venro.org)