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EU Development Policies

Between Norms and Geopolitics

Edited by Sarah L. Beringer · Sylvia Maier · Markus Thiel



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Timothy M. Shaw
Visiting Professor
University of Massachusetts
Boston, USA

Emeritus Professor, University of London, UK

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Sarah L. Beringer • Sylvia Maier
Markus Thiel
Editors

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Editors

Sarah L. Beringer
German Historical Institute
Washington, DC, USA

Sylvia Maier
Center for Global Affairs
New York University
New York, NY, USA

Markus Thiel
Steven J. Green School of
International and Public Affairs
Florida International University
Miami, FL, USA

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FOREWORD

The idea for this publication was born on the margins of the conference of the Miami-Florida Jean Monnet Center of Excellence on ‘The European Year of Development: Approaches, Issues and Results’ in March 2016.

The European Year of Development was a broad-based initiative of the EU’s 28 member countries, supported by governments, civil society organizations, academia, and international organizations to garner broader support from Europe’s citizens, especially its youth, for the future Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the related Addis Ababa Action Agenda on development finance, as well as the Paris Climate Agreement.

The conference at Florida International University was thus a timely exploration of the outcome of this crucial year for the definition of a global development agenda, and the impact on the EU’s development policy going forward. I had the privilege to represent the EU Delegation to the United States and to provide the keynote speech on the EU’s perspective on the bloc’s latest achievements at the global level as well as against the backdrop of the unparalleled influx of refugees into Europe, triggered by various conflicts outside of the continent and the accelerating irregular migration flows especially from Europe’s largest neighbor, the African continent.

The UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as well as the SDGs inspired the EU to modernize and adapt its own development policy and cooperation framework in various ways:

As of June 2017, the new European Consensus on Development serves as Europe’s collective response to global challenges and its demographic, economic, social, and environmental impacts. The Consensus provides for

a shared agenda of the EU's institutions and the 28 members in regard to development policy and guides their action in their cooperation with all developing countries. Strengthening the resilience of states, societies, and individuals is central to this approach. It seeks to encourage sustainable development and to accelerate ideational and policy transformations by emphasizing the cross-cutting nature of development policy with gender equality, human rights, youth empowerment, investment and trade, sustainable energy and climate action, good governance, democracy, rule of law, as well as migration and mobility. Additionally, the EU and its member states committed themselves to closer cooperation and united action to achieve the primary goal of eradicating poverty.

The new Consensus on Development will also contribute to the broader EU external policy priorities as defined in the EU Foreign and Security Global Strategy of 2016. That strategy provides a framework for EU external action encompassing the three 'Ds' that is, diplomacy, development, and defense. In that, it is a novelty and reveals how far the EU has evolved since its beginnings. While often discounted, development policy and cooperation was in fact the first pillar of external action when the EU was created more than 60 years ago. EU competences in the field of diplomacy and defense were created gradually and much later through changes to the EU treaties, and, finally, in the context of the Lisbon Treaty of 2009. Early EU cooperation offices in developing countries around the world constituted the basis for what are now fully fledged EU diplomatic missions (EU Delegations). The EU's strong commitment to development cooperation is reflected in the definition of its overarching goal in the Lisbon Treaty, that is, to reduce and ultimately to eradicate poverty. This constitutes a marked difference to the foreign policy set-up of nation states, where security considerations and other self-interests may prevail over a strong development commitment. Implementing the Global Strategy and integrating development into this larger external policy framework naturally reinforces the geo-strategic considerations within the EU's development priorities.

Looking to the future, it will be both an opportunity and a challenge to balance policy-making in regard to the EU's commitment to the global Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Lisbon Treaty's aspirational goal for the EU's development cooperation to eradicate poverty on the one side, and the EU's wider foreign policy interests on the other. The task is made more difficult by the increasing interlinkages between the internal and external dimensions of EU policies and challenges, of which

migration and climate change are just two examples. In this context, some strands of action have already become clearer.

Thematically, the EU has launched several flagship initiatives to speed up the implementation of specific SDGs: The European External Investment Plan of 2017 is designed to boost investment in partner countries in Africa and the European Neighborhood, thus contributing to the SDGs while tackling some of the root causes of migration. It aims to mobilize and leverage sustainable public and private investments to improve economic and social development with a particular focus on job creation. Its three inter-related pillars of support are (i) mobilizing finance through the European Fund for Sustainable Development including an innovative EU guarantee with an initial allocation of EUR 1.5 billion; (ii) technical assistance to help prepare investment projects; and (iii) developing a favorable investment climate and business environment to encourage additional investments in the order of € 44 billion. Due to record demand, the European Commission has proposed an extension from 2021 to turn the plan into an instrument of global reach that could trigger investments in the order of € 600 bn. In addition, at the UN General Assembly in 2017, the EU and UN launched the multi-donor Spotlight Initiative to eliminate violence against women and girls. It is underpinned by the EU's €500 million commitment, and will be implemented by the specialized UN agencies. This is an expression of the EU's strong support of multilateralism in general, the UN system and SDG 5 (gender quality) in particular.

Geographically, the EU's increased focus will be on its 'near abroad'. The EU Neighbourhood Policy for Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus, and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries will remain the bedrock of EU external action and cooperation. With the new EU Strategy for the Western Balkans, introduced in 2018, the EU also readies itself for new members and proposes six flagship initiatives for the countries of the region that are at different stages of the approximation and accession process. In June 2018, the Council of Ministers agreed to open formal accession negotiations with Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in June 2019, provided certain conditions are met.

The African continent is Europe's biggest neighbor and faces strong demographic challenges with a projected doubling of its population to 2.5 billion people by 2050. With Morocco re-joining the African Union (AU) in 2017, the AU now represents the entire continent. The AU-EU Summit of late 2017 prepared the ground for a single and modernized EU-Africa continental policy and cooperation, currently covered by two separate EU

policy frameworks: the Cotonou Agreement, encompassing 79 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACPs), and the EU Neighbourhood Policy for Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus, and the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries. The Cotonou Agreement is due to expire in February 2020. In June 2018, the Council of the European Union adopted directives for the European Commission to negotiate a successor agreement. This mandate endorses the Commission's proposal to craft a single Agreement for the entire ACP group, while promoting strengthened ties and a tailored approach to each region, reflecting the increased importance of regional dynamics and actors. The EU therefore proposes to restructure the Cotonou Agreement into a common foundation, complemented by three action-oriented regional partnerships with Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. While poverty eradication will remain an important element of the agreement—as the ACP group of States encompasses the majority of least developed countries—new economic, technological, political, social, and environmental dimensions will be given greater prominence.

The latest effort to adapt the EU's development policy to recent internal and external challenges is the Commission's proposal for the EU multi-annual financial framework for the period 2021 to 2027. In June 2018, the Commission and the European External Action Service (EEAS) published a series of budgetary proposals that entail far-reaching policy changes by modernizing the existing financial instruments for external action. The EU's budgetary authority—the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament—will discuss these proposals, which they can amend but not replace with their own bills. However, the Commission will be involved in the negotiations through so-called trilogues.

- The European Commission has identified external action as one of the EU's overall policy priorities for the period 2021–2027. The proposed budget of €123 billion corresponds to a 30 percent nominal increase from current levels (equivalent to an increase in real terms of around 13 percent), which is even more substantive if assessed in the context the UK's departure from the EU in 2019. The remaining EU 27 countries are asked to shoulder this increase, which will be partly made up by savings and cuts in other EU policy areas.
- An overall objective is to simplify the EU budget. In the field of external action, this will be achieved by merging existing financial budgetary instruments and by budgeting the European Development

Fund for the EU-ACP partnership. The biggest change would come from creating a single cooperation instrument for Neighbourhood, International Cooperation and Development with an almost global reach and a budget of €89 billion.

- The merger of these instruments will go along with thematic allocations under the new proposed single instrument. The Neighbourhood and Sub-Sahara Africa are identified as priority regions. Current allocations for ‘global challenges’ would be cut by almost half but shall be compensated by augmenting the geographical envelopes. The proposal also includes a non-allocated reserve for ‘emerging challenges and priorities’ and ‘rapid response’. This comes as a reaction to the various emergencies the EU had been facing, especially the refugee crisis and the increase of irregular migration that were addressed with additional funding from member states’ national budgets.
- Where the EU Treaties so require, separate financial instruments need to be maintained, the most important being for pre-accession assistance (€14.5 billion), humanitarian aid (€11 billion) and Common Foreign and Security Policy (€3 billion).
- Finally, the EU proposes the creation of a €10.5 billion extra-budgetary European Peace Facility for the same seven year period. It would replace the African Peace Facility, currently part of the European Development Fund, and the inter-governmental Athena Mechanism, which was set up to administer the financing of common costs associated with EU military and defense operations. The Peace Facility shall have a global reach and contribute to the financing of military peace support operations led by non-EU international actors, such as the Africa-led peace operations for Somalia (AMISOM) or the G5 Sahel Joint Force.

Altogether these proposals reflect the EU’s ambition for a more integrated external action budget to bring development, diplomacy, and defense considerations together. It remains to be seen how far the EU Member States—represented in the Council and the European Parliament—are ready to follow this path.

Minister Counselor Development
EU Delegation Washington,
Washington, DC, USA

Renate Hahlen

PREFACE

In 2015, the European Union celebrated its ‘Year of Development’. To acknowledge this milestone the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence at the School of International and Public Affairs at Florida International University (FIU) in Miami organized a conference in March 2016 on the theme ‘European/EU Development Policy in a Global Context: Approaches, Issues & Results’ that brought together a small circle of international academics from different humanities and social sciences disciplines who shared their research and engaged in rich discussions on the topic. One common thread among the various presentations was the tension between the EU’s normative stances in development, and the geopolitical economic and political pressures that impact on the concrete manifestation of this EU policy. We thus decided to assemble those conference papers that responded to this apparent dilemma and complemented them with contributions that would nicely round out the theme in policy or geographical terms. Rather than falling on one side or the other, the reader will notice that both, normative and geopolitical aspects are contained within Europe’s development approach, contingent upon previous historical, political, and economic relationships and exchanges. The implementation of a new European Consensus on Development following the introduction of the UN SDG agenda in 2015 as well as the current planning stages for the EU’s new multi-annual financial framework, and the consultations on an improved post-Cotonou Agreement governing the relations of the EU with its development partners, provide additional relevance for an exploration of the contours of this important

policy. We hope that the reader will find this edited volume helpful in charting a constructive way forward.

This project would not have been possible without the gracious help and support of Tim Shaw and the Palgrave Editorial team, Christina Brian, Clara Heathcock, and James Safford. We also want to thank Dr. Renate Hahlen from the Delegation of the European Union in Washington, DC, and foremost the European Commission for their financial support through FIU's Jean Monnet Center of Excellence.

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Washington, DC, USA
New York, NY, USA
Miami, FL, USA

Sarah L. Beringer
Sylvia Maier
Markus Thiel

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CONTRIBUTORS

Olufemi Babarinde Thunderbird School of Global Management,
Arizona State University, Glendale, AZ, USA

Sarah L. Beringer German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, USA

Bibek Chand Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

Lukas K. Danner Miami Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, Florida
International University, Miami, FL, USA

Percy C. Hintzen Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

Yovita Ivanova Alternative Development at DEVIDA Perú, Pontificia
Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru

Annette LaRocco Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL, USA

Sylvia Maier Center for Global Affairs, New York University, New York,
NY, USA

Joaquín Roy University of Miami European Union Center of Excellence/
University of Miami, European Union Center, Miami, FL, USA

Markus Thiel Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs,
Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Association Agreement
AASM	African States and Madagascar
ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AEEP	Africa-EU Energy Partnership
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ALBA	Alianza Bolivariana Para Los Pueblos de Nuestra América
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
B4L	Biodiversity for Life
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CAN	Community of Andean Nations
CAR	Central African Republic
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CARIFORUM	Caribbean Forum of African, Caribbean, and Pacific States
CBC	Community-Based Conservation
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CETA	Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
CEU	Commission of the European Union
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
COPOLAD	Cooperation Programme on Drugs Policies
CSO	Civil Society Organization

CSP	Country Strategy Paper
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCI	Development Cooperation Instruments
DEVCO	Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development
DG	Directorate-General
DPS	Development Policy Statement
ECE	Eastern and Central European
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECOFAC	Conservation et Utilisation Rationale des Ecosystems Forestiers d'Afrique Centrale
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EIB	European Investment Bank
EMP	European-Mediterranean Partnership
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
EPTA	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance
ESS	Environmental and Social Standards
EU	European Union
EUEI	EU Energy Initiative for Poverty Eradication and Sustainable Development
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Agreement of the Americas
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEEREF	Global Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy Fund
GGE	Greenhouse Gas Emissions
GMP	Global Mediterranean Policy
GSP	General System of Preferences
HDI	Human Development Index
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAES	Joint Africa-Europe Strategy
KLC	Key Landscapes for Conservation
LAC	Latin American and Caribbean
LDC	Least-Developed Countries

LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
MFN	Most-Favored Nation
MIP	Multiannual Indicative Programme
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDB	New Development Bank
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NPE	Normative Power Europe
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCT	Overseas Countries and Territories
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PA	Protected Area
PDCA	Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement
PES	Payment for Ecosystem Services
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PROMPERU	Promotion of Peruvian Exports and Tourism
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
REC	Regional Economic Community
RECP	Renewable Energy Cooperation Program
RMB	Ren Min Bi
SAF/SAP	Structural Adjustment Facility/Program
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDR	Special Drawing Rights
SE4ALL	Sustainable Energy 4 All
SEM	Single European Market
SICA	Sistema de Integración Centroamericana
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSC	South-South Cooperation
STABEX	Stabilization of Exports
TAF	Technical Assistance Facility
TAR	Tibetan Autonomous Region
TDCA	Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TSD	Trade and Sustainable Development

UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Unión de Naciones Suramericanas
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WBG	World Bank Group
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WCW	Wildlife Crisis Window
WEF	World Economic Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

Sarah L. Beringer, Sylvia Maier, and Markus Thiel

The European Union (EU) is living through the most critical period of its existence. The BREXIT vote in the United Kingdom to leave the EU, internal divisions over immigration and national security, the strengthening of populist movements, and the lingering Euro-crisis have inevitably compelled the Union to prioritize an inward-looking agenda. This makes it harder for the bloc to solidify its “actorness” (Niemann and Bretherton 2013) and to exert international influence, as—for instance—the stalemate in transatlantic trade negotiations and disagreements in transatlantic relations more generally have shown. But the EU cannot afford to lose sight of the rest of the world, as an isolationist neglect of the states and regions beyond its borders would contribute to more instability. This is particularly evident given the

S. L. Beringer (✉)

German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, USA

e-mail: beringer@ghi-dc.org

S. Maier

Center for Global Affairs, New York University, New York, NY, USA

e-mail: sm173@nyu.edu

M. Thiel

Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs, Florida International University, Miami, FL, USA

e-mail: thielm@fiu.edu

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