

Guidelines for Germany's Africa Policy

by Federal Foreign Office, Germany

Africa is on the rise – our image of Africa needs a thorough overhaul:

- **Africa's per-capita gross domestic product is greater than that of many emerging economies:** at over US\$ 1000 it is considerably higher than that of some G20 states. Twelve African states with a total population of more than 100 million enjoy a higher per-capita income than China.
- **The Africans are no longer going to let themselves be kept down by the old power elites:** responsible citizens, often the younger generation, are very well acquainted with and are demanding their rights. Reliable opinion surveys in 20 states show that a steady 70% of respondents are in favour of democracy.
- **African governments have realized that they themselves are responsible for their continent:** the African Peer Review Mechanism is a courageous experiment which forces governments to give an honest assessment of their achievements. The African Union already has far-reaching competences: for example, it is entitled to intervene in cases of severe human rights violations.
- **The continent has become safer:** ten years or so ago, there were armed conflicts – both civil wars and international conflicts – in the west, north-east, centre and south of the continent. At the time of the Cold War the number of "proxy wars" was much higher. Today the Sudan and its western neighbour Chad, the Horn of Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are still regions of conflict. But stability has arrived in many parts of the continent, and in the conflict states of West Africa there have even been concrete moves towards democracy and the rule of law.
- **Many challenges in Africa are not specific to Africa, but are global problems:** terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in people and illegal migration, corruption, dangers to the environment, climate change.

- **That is why Africa has an increasingly important role to play on the international stage.** This is true even in times of economic and financial crisis – South Africa and the African Union are members of the G20!
- **The facts:** we cannot continue to regard Africa as a continent of crises, poverty and corruption. The countries of Africa are our equal partners, both bilaterally and in multilateral organizations.

The new Africa requires a modern Africa policy:

- Two years ago, the Federal Foreign Office took corresponding action. In 2007 Federal Foreign Minister Steinmeier set the course not only with words, but also with additional funding: in 2008 and 2009 new budget funds for the Federal Foreign Office amounting to over 110 million euro were used for crisis prevention, crisis management, the rule of law, democratization, police cooperation and security structures in Africa. With our "Aktion Afrika" programme we are strengthening our cultural engagement in Africa. Since 2008, 40 million euro has been made available for this purpose. Africa's involvement in G8 discussions, visible in the so-called Heiligendamm process since 2007, and our determination during our EU Presidency in 2007 to draw up the Joint EU-Africa Strategy, reflect our conviction that Africa must be treated as an equal partner.

The guidelines are characterized by a "dual approach":

- Strengthening Africa's ability to take responsibility for its own affairs: we are not presenting blueprints for modernization. Africa is now developing them itself. We support these endeavours.
- Peace and security: within the scope of the Joint EU-Africa Strategy and in other frameworks, we maintain a close dialogue with the countries of Africa on security issues – both within and outside Africa. We support the African Union by strengthening its ability to lead peacekeeping missions and developing crisis management capacities.
- We participate in the African Union's efforts to resolve crises: e.g. in the Contact Groups on Madagascar, Mauritania and Guinea.
- At the same time we are making concrete contributions towards resolving acute conflicts: we are playing a direct part in fighting piracy off the coast of Somalia, as well as in Darfur, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Madagascar and West Africa.

- We are providing humanitarian aid: wherever lives are in danger, the Federal Foreign Office helps at once by releasing substantial funding.

Our Africa policy is calculable – that's why Africa trusts us:

- **German foreign policy is oriented to global values:** respect for human rights, democracy, the rule of law, peaceful resolution of conflicts/international jurisdiction.
- **We have clearly defined interests:** as a major export nation we are dependent on a secure, functioning system of world trade. This presupposes peace, security and stability. Environmental and climate protection is a priority because we want to ensure that this world remains a good place for future generations too. We need equal partners who are confident but also tolerant: that's why we promote education and the willingness of civil societies to engage in dialogue, and that's why we seek to establish conditions in which prosperity can be created and fairly distributed. We are securing our energy supply by helping to open doors for German companies in Africa as well.
- **Our partners in Africa know and share our values.** They are also aware of our interests – and they respect them. That is why our policy is calculable. Africa trusts us. That is why we cooperate closely with our African partners in multilateral organizations (especially the United Nations) for our mutual benefit.

Africa – our neighbour on the rise

Africa is a continent on the rise. New opportunities are opening up, but new challenges are emerging alongside the old ones as well. With the establishment of the African Union and the African Court on Human and People's Rights, with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NePAD) and the introduction of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), far-sighted African politicians have proved their determination to find their own solutions to the problems facing the continent and its states. They have set out on the path of political and economic reform. The people in the countries of Africa are calling for the rule of law, democracy and good governance. Reform-minded politicians in governments and parliaments, as well as civil society, are seeking to cooperate with the European Union and its member states in particular.

There are almost a billion people living in 53 states in Africa. Africa accounts for more than a quarter of the United Nations' member states. Africa has tremendous economic potential. Already, Africa's gross domestic product outstrips that of many newly industrialized countries. With its huge rainforests north and south of the equator, Africa plays a crucial role for the global climate. Globalization and modern communications technologies link Africa's

younger generation in particular with Europe. And Africa's population is young: the average age is just 17.

Dynamic development and the interest in enhanced cooperation with Africa were reflected not least in the EU Strategy for Africa adopted in Lisbon in December 2007, which set relations between the EU and Africa on a new footing.

Africa, too, is called on to find a response to regional and global challenges. These include armed conflicts in the Sudan, the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region, organized cross-border crime in West Africa, the effect of international terrorism on the countries of the Sahel, dangers to the environment stemming from climate change and overexploitation of the rain-forests, migration within the continent and to Europe as a result of violence and economic or social hardship, and democratic deficits. All these have an impact on us too.

Africa's responses to current challenges

- **People in Africa play an active part in helping to shape their societies.** Whereas in the past it was "the international donor community" that tried to solve the problems, generally through humanitarian and development assistance, today the Africans themselves are increasingly taking the initiative. No longer do they want to see themselves as mere recipients of foreign aid. The people in the countries of Africa are calling for democratic structures and political and economic participation. A lively network of civil society organizations has sprung up. The younger generation is increasingly questioning the dominance of "old men". African politicians are increasingly being called to account. Manipulated elections are no longer simply accepted as a fact of life.
- **Africa has developed modern problem-solving instruments.** Over the past few years, the countries of Africa have developed a range of instruments enabling them to face up to the challenges successfully themselves. The African Union is developing capacities for crisis prevention (e.g. conciliation, sanctions mechanisms), for dispute settlement (e.g. the African Standby Force), but also for economic and social development. The five regional organizations within Africa, but also various purely economic or financial associations, play a key role here. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) encourages African states to remind each other of their obligations in terms of implementing the values and standards set forth in the AU Charter.
- **Africa is seeking cooperation with Europe.** Africa and Europe, as a result of an African initiative, are endeavouring to develop an equal partnership. Important steps were taken during Germany's EU Presidency. The EU Strategy for Africa adopted in December 2007 created eight partnerships under one roof: peace and security; good governance and

human rights; trade and regional integration; Millennium Development Goals; energy; climate change; migration, mobility and employment; science, information society and space.

Our Africa policy is based on universal values and German interests. This makes our partnership-oriented policy credible and calculable.

- **We want peace and security in our neighbouring regions.** That is why we engage to prevent the emergence of conflicts. Our policy is therefore committed to democracy, the rule of law, good governance and respect for human rights. Germany also plays a direct part in resolving acute conflicts. And once conflicts end, Germany participates in processes aimed at restoring lasting peace and in reconstruction efforts.
- **We want Africa as an economic partner.** Germany is an export nation. We have to open up markets. We need large numbers of discerning customers with money to spend on our high-quality products. That is why we are helping to create the conditions for Africa to be integrated into the global economy and for all people in Africa to be able to share in their country's economic prosperity. What is needed for this is an environment which allows industry, the service sector and agriculture to develop and grow. Wherever we open up economic and social prospects for the people, we are at the same time consolidating peace and security.
- **We want to protect the environment and climate and to promote sustainable lifestyles and business practices worldwide.** A foreign policy that takes account of climate and environmental issues benefits us all. Many regions of Africa have already been hit by the negative effects of climate change. Desertification is a problem predominantly affecting the African continent. Africa's unique biodiversity is under threat. But the countries of Africa are not sufficiently able to implement the necessary adjustments quickly by themselves. Only an intensive dialogue in a global partnership in which Africa is an equal participant will arrive at viable solutions. With our international climate and environmental policy we prevent the spread of problems at local and regional level caused by climate change, for instance armed conflicts over water or migration flows caused by the lack of sufficient cultivable land for food production.
- **We want to secure our supply of energy and raw materials.** Only if we have access to adequate, accessible and affordable energy sources will we be able to survive as a developed industrial country. Africa has a wealth of energy resources and raw materials, not least from renewable sources. The aim of our energy cooperation with Africa is to develop and expand the African states' energy infrastructure and at the same time to help secure our own energy supply. Our commodities policy requires and promotes transparent hand-

ling of the revenue from the extraction of commodities and thus promotes the participation of broad sections of the population in their nation's prosperity.

- **We want open, responsible societies.** In a globalized world we depend on one another more than ever before. We have to join forces to tackle the major problems of the future, such as climate change and dwindling resources. For that to succeed, we have to understand one another. At the same time we also want to show Germans the diversity and vibrancy of the African cultures and demonstrate what a rich historical and cultural heritage Africa can boast. "Anyone who has once tasted honey will return to the honeypot again and again". Our goal is to embrace this African proverb by creating cultural attractions which give people an appetite for more! We want to organize German Weeks featuring guest contributions by German and African artists, film screenings and exhibitions to promote the interest and understanding of each culture for the other. At the same time, we want to spread knowledge of each other: German Centres which reach all the countries of Africa present this information in such a way as to interest broad sections of the population and all age groups. We promote a dialogue between media representatives from Germany and African states.
- **We want close cooperation with Africa in multilateral fora.** In the United Nations there can be no overlooking Africa. The African Group generally stands together. It is a key factor in political decision-making, but also with regard to candidatures and elections. We want to consolidate our good cooperation and thus help to ensure, in our own interest, that North and South conduct a real dialogue in the UN framework too.

Ownership and partnership

- **The countries of Africa are our equal partners.** Our Africa policy is committed to the principles of the EU Strategy for Africa drawn up in cooperation with Africa. Under this Strategy we work together with Africa as equal partners. The donor/recipient mentality must become a thing of the past. Africa no longer wants to see itself reduced to the role of mere recipient of development aid. Rather, we are shaping our relations with African countries and organizations just as we do those with all our other partners across the world, to take account of far more than just development concerns. The countries of Africa appreciate this – and that's why Africa trusts Germany.
- **We strengthen the African states' sense of their own responsibility.** An equal partnership demands that both sides contribute their own special strengths. Our policy towards Africa is therefore designed to strengthen African states and organizations so that they themselves are in a position to meet the challenges of our age. Africa must find its own way to reconcile the irreversible process of modernization with the preservation of worthy traditions. We are prepared to play our part towards ensuring good governance, respect

for human rights, the rule of law, economic, social and ecological reform and education in Africa.

- **Security, stability and modernization go together.** Germany and the countries of Africa know that we can only develop Africa's potential for our mutual benefit if there is security, stability and peace across the continent. Security and stability can be attained through modern crisis management; lasting peace, in contrast, will only be achieved if the people have a personal incentive to commit to the modernization of their societies.
- **Germany promotes peace and security.** The Federal Foreign Office backs the African states' efforts to build an effective African security architecture. Financial resources and personnel are available for this purpose. We are helping to provide basic and further training for the African Standby Force, to strengthen civilian components in peacekeeping missions, to equip the armed forces of the participating states, to construct a building for the African Union's Peace and Security Directorate, to demarcate borders, to provide training and equipment for national police forces and to strengthen cross-border cooperation. We participate in intra-African peacekeeping initiatives (trilateral projects with South Africa, in the Congo or the Sudan). In this way we are helping to develop a system of regional collective security like that which has proven its worth in Europe over many decades.

For years we have also been engaged in crisis management wherever there is a risk that crises might impact on Europe and Germany. Examples include the EUFOR mission to ensure the peaceful conduct of elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, participation in the peace missions in Liberia, Western Sahara and at the Ethiopian-Eritrean border, support for the Darfur peace process, involvement in the ATALANTA mission off the coast of Somalia, support for the peace and reconciliation processes in the Great Lakes region, assistance for the states of West Africa which have overcome their conflicts. Our humanitarian aid, which can be mobilized very quickly, responds to all kinds of disasters and thus brings immediate assistance directly to the people.

- **Germany is expanding its economic and energy cooperation with Africa.** Africa can be an interesting market for Germany. The opportunities far outweigh the risks: the continent's consistently high growth rates are an impressive demonstration of that. Successful trade with Africa necessitates purchasing power. This means that we must move away from individual projects oriented purely towards development policy. That is why the Federal Foreign Office uses its entire range of globally proven instruments for external economic promotion. Additional offices of German commerce, increased competence in external economic promotion at Germany's missions, cooperation on the fight against corruption and money-laundering, including transparency in the commodities sector – all these help Germany and the African states alike to achieve sustainable growth.

In order to secure our energy supply, we are supporting German power companies in their attempts to diversify energy sources. At the same time, our international energy policy ensures that Africa is not reduced to the role of mere supplier. Our partnership-oriented policy is aimed at enabling the supplier countries in turn to build up a modern energy infrastructure.

- **International environment and climate policy enhances living conditions both in Africa and in Germany.** In international climate protection negotiations, Germany, together with its EU partners, is seeking close cooperation with the countries of Africa in order to find a solution to the climate problem, because this is only possible if all states act together. Moreover, Germany participates actively in environmental and climate protection measures in Africa. We participate in endeavours under the UN Convention on Bio-logical Diversity to protect nature and biodiversity in Africa. This is to the good of both environmental and security concerns in Germany as well as Africa. Environmental pro-jects complement security-policy measures in countries which have overcome violent conflicts. Climate change is already showing tangible effects in Africa. So there is great interest in Africa in a switch from fossil fuels to regenerative energies. Germany therefore promotes African states' membership of IRENA (International Renewable Energy Agency).

- **Germany promotes open societies in Africa.** The societies in Africa are now part of the globalized, networked world. We support endeavours by the governments in Africa to widen participation in the knowledge society. By intensifying cooperation in higher education, expanding the Goethe-Institut's presence, concluding further cultural agree-ments and presenting educational radio programmes for young people, the Federal Foreign Office provides modern instruments to enhance African ownership. German universities cooperate with African universities at centres of excellence within the scope of the "Aktion Afrika" programme and the cultural and academic relations initiative. Through its cultural relations activities, the Federal Foreign Office gives African culture access to Germany. This enhances the intercultural competence of both Africans and Germans alike. The Partner School Initiative has brought a large increase in the number of children learning German in Africa. Germany is thus creating the conditions for the development on both continents of open societies capable of successfully meeting the challenges of the 21st century.

Remarks: This paper has been provided to ISPSW by the Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin.



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