Causes, rationales and dynamics : exploring the strategic security partnership between the European Union and Africa
Siradag, A.

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Author: Siradag, Abdurrahim
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CONCLUSION

The introductory chapter of this dissertation outlined the general structure of the study, including the introduction and the main topics to be addressed. The main research questions this dissertation aimed to answer were: What are the main driving forces and elements of security cooperation between the EU and Africa? And Why does the EU pursue an SSP with Africa? The sub-questions addressed were: What determines the patterns of cooperation between African regional organisations and the EU? And How can an SSP be established between unequal actors?

Chapter Two examined the theoretical framework of international cooperation in IR theories and the concepts of strategic partnership and international organisation. On the basis of the theoretical framework, Chapter 2 formulated the related hypotheses. The concept of an SSP between Africa and the EU is a relatively new phenomenon, dating from the first Summit between the two groups held in Cairo in 2000. The elements creating the concept of strategic partnership are geo-strategic, geo-economic and geo-political interests, and mutual responsibility. At the same time, internal and external dynamics, such as socio-economic and political development, global economic crises, international terrorist attacks, and institutions, NGOs, think tanks, academia and business also influence it.

Complex interdependence has been affecting security relations between Africa and the EU as new challenges of the modern world have threatened economic interests and security of the global actors. Moreover, realist views stress that global powers have a propensity to increase their economic and political interests while cooperating with weak actors, however, liberal theorists of IR contend that strategic partnership among different actors can reduce the possibility of uncertainty and increase economic, social and political relations. At the same time, actors can fight against new global threats and challenges more efficiently by reinforcing international cooperation in a wide range of activities. According to constructivism, common identity and culture, historical relations and shared knowledge can also contribute to creating strategic partnership between different actors. Chapter 2 discussed the significant role played by economic and political interests in creating an SSP between Africa and the EU. At the same time, there are also other important elements influencing the establishment of a strategic partnership on peace and security between different actors, such as international terrorism, conflicts and wars, and immigration issues. This chapter also argued that colonial relations between Africa and Europe have forced EU members to increase their security cooperation,

albeit to a lesser extent. It found a mixture of motivations behind the creation of an SSP between Africa and the EU.

Chapter Three focused on the security concept and its related elements and values, a concept so complicated as to include social, economic, political, and military dimensions. This chapter revealed that the concept of security cooperation should include not only the traditional security dimension, but also socio-economic, political, technological and physiological dimensions. This chapter discussed that the EU and African organisations have gradually widened the concept of "security", including aspects such as poverty reduction, economic development, education and other elements as strategic aims. According to liberalism, cooperation between different actors is necessary to increse mutual interests. Hypothesis 1 in the study is "mutual interests lead to the emergence of security cooperation between Africa and the EU." Conflicts and wars damage not only Africa's economic and social interests, but also the EU's economic and political interests. The EU established the African Peace Facility (APF) in 2004 with the AU to foster security cooperation between the two continents. Importantly, the EU has deployed 10 peacekeeping operations in Africa since 2003 to maintain peace and security on the African continent. One of the most important aims of the APF is to sustain peace, security and stability in Africa. In particular, the 9/11 attacks on the USA forced the EU to strengthen its security cooperation with African organisations. At the same time, new threats and challenges, including immigration issues, drug trafficking, state failure, organised crime and proliferation of WMD forced EU members to develop a more effective security strategy towards Africa to combat these problems. In this sense, hypothesis 1 is largely confirmed.

Chapter Four scrutinised the historical background of the EU's foreign and security policy and its foreign and security policy objectives. The CFSP\ESDP has played a significant role in developing the EU's security policy inside and outside the EU. Until the end of the Cold War, the CFSP of the EU did not contribute to international peace and security because of the domestic developments in Europe. The end of the Cold War changed the international framework as a multipolar international structure replaced the bipolar international system. According to liberal approaches, international cooperation among different actors is possible and can contribute to peace and security. At the same time, cooperation can increase common interests among the nations. After the Cold War, the significance of international organisations also increased. Internal dynamics in the European countries have played a major role in the expansion of the SSP between Africa and the EU. In particular, integration

movements in Europe have had an impact on the development of the Africa-EU SSP. For instance, the admission of ten new European countries into the EU in 2004 provided a forceful momentum to increase the EU's global power in world affairs. Since 2004, the EU has begun to take more global responsibilities in sustaining international peace and security, and strengthening its institutional ties with different regional and sub-regional organisations, such as security cooperation with African organisations.

The new international system also brought substantial changes to Europe, in particular its security concept. In 1992, the EU established the CFSP with the adoption of the TEU at Maastricht, which also created the notion of security cooperation. However, developing the CFSP of the EU has been one of the most controversial areas of the EU. In particular, different national policies within the EU and discrepancies between the different institutions, including the WEU, NATO, and the CFSP, have impeded the evolution of the CFSP of the EU. This situation undermines the effectiveness of the CFSP outside the EU, and these challenges have also damaged the evolution of a strategic partnership with Africa. Making cooperation among different actors in a particular area is a challenging task. Hypothesis 2 is "the lack of cohesion and discrepancy between the EU members damages the development of the Africa-EU SSP." The USA-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, the South Ossetia War in the Caucasus in August 2008 between Russia and Georgia, and the Libyan War of 2011 proved that the divergence among the EU members has continued to undermine its global strategies, including the SSP with Africa. These examples provide evidence for hypothesis 2.

France and the UK have played the most important roles in the EU peacekeeping operations in Africa while the other members of the EU remain so passive. More importantly, huge economic and political interests of France and the UK in Africa are among the major factors influencing the Africa-EU SSP, however, this damages the creation of a strong security partnership between the two continents. The EU needs to develop a common African strategy. Without creating a common strategy with regard to Africa, the Africa-EU SSP cannot work effectively. To this end, the EU should strengthen its CFSP in order to create strong strategic partnerships with African organisations. Meanwhile, the adoption of the ESS by the EU members in December 2003 was a turning point for making the CFSP influential and consistent. The ESS provided energy for the EU members to play a more active role in maintaining international peace and security. Even though the EU has made efforts to make the CFSP effective, different national policies of the EU members, in particular the national

interests in Africa of France, the UK, Italy and Germany, have undermined the development of the Africa-EU SSP. This also largely supports hypothesis 2.

This chapter also examined the EU's foreign and security policy objectives and drew attention to the EU foreign and security policy objectives. In this study, hypothesis 3 is "the EU encourages reinforcing regional organisations on the African continent through the Africa-EU SSP." After the EU adopted the ESS in 2003, it started to play a more active role in keeping international peace and security. According to the ESS, the EU as a global actor should take more global responsibilities to sustain international peace and security in conflict areas and reinforce its institutional relations with different actors. Furthermore, the ESS emphasises that new threats and challenges, as mentioned above, damage the EU's economic and political interests, therefore, the EU should increase its security cooperation with Africa. To this end, the EU has provided financial assistance to foster African organisations. For instance, the EU set up the APF to strengthen African regional and sub-regional organisations' peace and security mechanisms through the AU in 2004 and earmarked €740 million for this facility. Furthermore, the European Commission donated €10 million to reinforce the IGAD in 2007 (IGAD, 2007:7).

In addition, the EU assigned €258 million to consolidate the ECOWAS between 2002 and 2007 and also made a €116[57] million donation to fortify the capacity building of SADC and its regional and economic integration efforts. The European Commission granted €25 million to the AU to reinforce its peacekeeping operation in Burundi in 2003 (European Commission, 2004:3). The EU authorised its first peacekeeping operation to the DRC in 2003, in order to sustain peace, security and stability. It can be said that the EU's financial and political support to the AU peacekeeping operation in Darfur during the conflict played a key role in fortifying the AU's security structure. These developments support hypothesis 3.

This chapter argued that the Africa-EU SSP aims not only to stop conflicts and wars in the conflict areas in Africa, but also aims to spread norms and values in the African countries. One of the most important objectives of the CFSP of the EU is to promote democracy, human rights and good governance. According to liberalism, setting up cooperation is easier among

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[57]See the Communiqué EU-SADC Double Troika Ministerial Meeting, 11 November 2008, Doc. 15597/08 (Presse 326), Brussels, Belgium.

democratic countries, however, the lack of democracy, the rule of law and human rights can prevent the emergence of a fair strategic partnership between different actors.

Hypothesis 4 is "the EU aims to spread its norms and values in Africa through the SSP." After the 9/11 attacks on the USA, the EU started to put more pressure on African governments to put into practice principles of liberalism and democracy. According to the ESS, the EU should make a contribution to global peace and security by disseminating its own norms and values, which requires it to establish new strategic partnerships with different global actors. To this end, the EU has alredy established the APF through the AU, in 2004 and provided significant financial, diplomatic, military and civilian assistance to the AU peacekeeping operation in Sudan (AMIS II) in 2005. The EU's support of the AU during the Darfur conflict played an important role in empowering its peacekeeping operation and emerging security cooperation between the EU and Africa (Siradag, 2012, 136-139). It is important to note that the APF became a significant tool for the EU to spread its norms and values throughout Africa, which largely confirms hypothesis 4.

This chapter has argued that the EU does not have a consistent foreign and security policy in the world. In particular, its economic and political interests shape its foreign and security policy or its strategic partnership policies. For instance, the EU imports 50 percent of its gas and 30 percent of its oil from Russia (Monaghan, 2006:1). Economic and political relations between the EU and Russia influence the EU's foreign and security policies. For example, when the war started between Russia and Georgia in 2008, the EU could not develop an effective foreign and security policy to prevent it. Likewise, some of the EU members, such as Italy, Germany, the UK, and France had strong economic and political relations with the ousted Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, selling weapons to the value of €343.7 million to Libya in 2009, The EU's contradictory foreign and security policies in the world damage its international power and the development of an SSP with Africa.

Chapter Five dealt with the former European colonial powers' security policies towards Africa and their impact on security cooperation among Africa and the EU. The European colonial powers, in particular France and the UK, have a strong economic and political interest in their former colonial countries in Africa. Their historical relationship with Africa has influenced the birth of the notion of an SSP. The colonial legacy in Africa is still undermining the development of security relations between the two continents. According to constructivism, ideas, identities, shared knowledge, and historical relations can make a contribution to the concept of strategic partnership. In particular, economic interests have

been playing significant roles in developing the Africa-EU SSP and the former colonial powers' policies towards Africa. Meanwhile, new challenges of the twenty-first century provide the impetus for the former European colonial powers to make security cooperation with the African organisations. This also revealed that EU members have not only aimed to keep their economic interests through the SSP with Africa but have also fought against new threats and challenges.

Some members of the EU play a more active role in establishing an SSP with Africa. For instance, France allocated €300 million between 2010 and 2012 in order to foster African states' and organisations' security capacities during the 25th France-Africa summit in Nice in 2010. Also, France set up its own security mechanism in 1998, known as the Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capacities (RECAMP) programme. RECAMP consisted of Francophone African countries, the USA, the UK, Belgium, and five Anglophone countries. Its main aim being to enhance African organisations' and states' peace and security capacities by creating a strategic partnership with Africa. RECAMP has been a strategic means for France in strengthening African organisations in the areas of peace and security. This supports hypothesis 3. On the other hand, France was opposed to the creation of the ECOWAS in 1975, which aimed to sustain peace and security and increase economic cooperation among the members in the Western part of Africa. France's geo-economic and geo-political interests have shaped its security relations with Africa. This does not support hypothesis 3. Germany also donated €30 million to African states and African organisations to strengthen Africa's peace and security structure at the 2007 German G8 Presidency. At the same time, Germany joined a EUFOR mission in the DRC in 2006 and provided financial, political and logistical support for it. This also provides evidence for hypothesis 3. In light of these developments, political and economic interests influence EU members' foreign and security policies towards Africa. This shows that important countries within the framework of the EU have developed individual strategies towards Africa that are damaging the unity and solidarity between the EU members and the current strategic partnership on peace and security between the two different continents. This supports hypothesis 2.

Realism claims that the EU does not have an aim to establish an SSP with Africa, because the members of the EU have different interests in Africa and block its creation. However, liberalism points out that the world has changed and multilateralism has been significant in diplomacy to fight the global challenges and increase common interests. So, some of the most important aims of the SSP are to combat the new threats and challenges. This also supports

hypothesis 1. Moreover, realist views stress that global powers have a propensity to increase their global power on the international arena while cooperating with weak ones.

Chapter Six analysed the EU's security policy towards Africa and driving forces behind it. The first Africa-EU Summit, held in Cairo in 2000, played a significant role in the emergence of the new paradigms between the two continents, including the notion of the strategic partnership. The second significant step was the *EU Strategy for Africa* adopted by the European Council in December 2005. For the first time the EU proposed to Africa that they establish a strategic partnership in the fields of peace and security. Moreover, the EU declared 2005 as a "year of Africa." The other substantial pace to conceptualise the Africa-EU security cooperation was the second Africa-EU Summit, held in Lisbon 2007. This particularly brought together the European and African leaders and provided a momentum to change the security relations between the two continents. It is worth noting that this security partnership was intended to be a long-term relationship, forged in the most difficult partnership area. The third Africa-EU Summit, held in Libya in 2010, did not bring a new approach to Africa's security, but merely repeated the old strategies.

This chapter revealed internal and external dynamics behind the current security cooperation. Internal dynamics of this partnership are political, economic and historical. The new developments in the EU, such as enlargement and the economic crisis of 2007, have had a foremost impact on this partnership. Furthermore, the political and economic interests of the former European colonial powers impacted on the creation of this partnership. External factors have also contributed to the progress of the Africa-EU SSP, including the emerging the new global actors in Africa, the 9\11 terrorist attacks on the USA, and globalisation. Globalisation forced the EU to strengthen an SSP with Africa to combat new threats and challenges and to provide new opportunites. This supports hypothesis 9. The new emerging powers, such as China, India, Brazil and Turkey have increased their political and economic relations with Africa in recent years. For instance, China's total trade with Africa increased from $91.07 billion in 2009 to $114.81 billion in 2010. Similarly, India's total trade with Africa increased from $25 billion in 2006-7 to $45 billion in 2010, and Turkey's total trade with Africa increased from $16 billion in 2008 to $30 billion in 2010. This largely supports hypothesis 5.

According to the realist approach, states see each other as rivals and threats, so they increase their own material interests and security while cooperating. The EU is the largest trading partner for Africa and has a significant economic and political interest on the continent. This

largely supports hypothesis 5. This chapter indicated that there are two important main driving forces and elements of security cooperation between Africa and the EU, namely serving the EU's economic and political interests in Africa and combating the new challenges and threats more effectively. There has been a strong relationship between the EU's economic interests and its security policy towards Africa, and one of the main reasons behind the emergence of the Africa-EU SSP towards Africa has been its economic interests. Meanwhile, the other external factors have also provided a strong force behind its creation. The EU members' interests in Africa, security concerns and the EU enlargement have shaped a pattern of security cooperation between the two.

Since 2003, the EU has begun to consolidate its strategic cooperation with African organisations in the areas of peace and security. Significantly, the EU deployed its first peacekeeping operation in Africa in the DRC in 2003, in order to maintain peace, security and stability. The EU's cooperation with African organisations in the fields of peace and security peaked during the Darfur conflict. The EU established an APF in 2004 within the framework of the AU to foster security capacities of regional organisations in Africa. When the AU deployed its peacekeeping mission in Darfur in 2004, the APF played a substantial role in reinforcing the AU's security structure and beginning a strategic partnership in the areas of peace and security between the two continents. Particularly, the creation of the APF is likely to enhance the global role of the EU in Africa against the new actors. This provides evidence for hypothesis 5.

Chapter Seven explored internal and external factors that affect security in Africa, concluding that internal factors in Africa, such as historical, social, political and economic problems, weaken the development of strategic partnership between Africa and the EU. According to realism, global actors gain more from strategic partnership because global actors' economic and political power dominates cooperation with weak actors. Hypothesis 6 is "power imbalance makes cooperation between the EU and Africa difficult in the framework of the SSP." African organisations have made efforts to increase security cooperation with the EU. In particular, the 9/11 attacks forced both African organisations and the EU to strengthen their security cooperation. The establishment of the APF and the EU peacekeeping operations in Africa show that security cooperation can be created between different actors. Furthermore, security cooperation between the AU and the EU during the Darfur conflict provides evidence against hypothesis 6. However, African organisations face financial, logistical and political constraints. The lack of unity and solidarity between the members of African organisations

undermines the development of a common African strategy. For example, the AU had huge financial, political and logistical restraints when it deployed peacekeeping operations in Sudan and Burundi, known as AMIS and AMIB respectively. Mixed evidence was found for hypothesis 6 throughout this dissertation, since global developments make cooperation among various actors possible and necessary. However, different economic and political levels between Africa and the EU render a strategic partnership on peace and security more difficult.

Africa faces political, economic and social problems. African internal challenges damage security cooperation between Africa and the EU, which provides support for hypothesis 7. The EU should cooperate more with African organisations in the fields of peace and security, and assume more global responsibilities in peace and security activities to strengthen its strategic partnerships with Africa. However, using its soft power to enhance an SSP with African organisations is not a strategic way for the EU. Rather, the EU should focus on the roots of conflicts and wars. The EU's financial support for Africa is not solving structural problems of Africa, such as poverty, unemployment, and AIDS/HIV, nor is its financial assistance bringing lasting peace and security. Also, the EU needs to reduce divergence between the members in order to develop a more consistent foreign and security policy towards Africa. Creating a common African strategy is necessary for making the EU a more active and effective global actor in Africa.

African organisations lack a common African strategy due to the lack of unity and solidarity between African states. For example, when the AU authorised a peacekeeping operation in Burundi in 2003, only three countries, namely South Africa, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, provided troops. The poor coordination between African states and African organisations damages the effectiveness of the Africa-EU SSP, which supports hypothesis 7. African organisations should make their own common African strategy in order to play a more active role in the Africa-EU SSP. Effective coordination between the members of African organisations is essential for making Africa's peace and security activities more successful. Mechanisms should thus be reinforced by African states, rather than by outside powers. Good coordination between the members of African organisations can increase the success of the Africa-EU SSP. At the same time, increasing economic and political cooperation between African nations is needed to establish strong strategic partnerships with different actors. Without boosting cooperation among African nations, Africa's cooperation with global actors cannot work effectively. Mixed evidence was found for hypothesis 7 in the dissertation. While structural problems of Africa weaken the development of the Africa-EU SSP, the

establishment of the AU and NEPAD has reinforced its strategic partnership with the EU on peace and security.

Chapter Eight examined security policies of the AU, the IGAD, the ECOWAS, and SADC. These African organisations have been playing an important role in sustaining peace and security on the continent of Africa, as African leaders have recognised that "without peace and security there is no sustainable social and economic development." Therefore, the African organisations have developed their own security strategies since they were established. Their efforts for peace and security in Africa have strengthened the concept of African ownership, which this chapter indicated cannot play a dynamic role in keeping peace and security and instead has been shaped by the external powers, including the EU, the UN, G8, and other global actors. This also highlights that structural problems of the African organisations have weakened their security policies, as well as their security cooperation with the EU, including their financial and logistical constraints, and the lack of unity and solidarity within the African organisations' members. This provides evidence for hypotheses 6 and 7.

Chapter Nine analysed the Africa-EU SSP and explored the main challenges behind it. The concepts of mutual accountability and mutual responsibility have been meaningful in developing the Africa-EU security cooperation. Before 2000, the EU was mainly involved in Africa in terms of aid and economic relations, however, the new developments in world politics created new strategic partnerships across a wide range of areas between the different actors. At the same time, the security relations between the EU and other important African organisations, namely, the IGAD, the ECOWAS, and SADC contribute to the development of this strategic partnership, but not greatly. Realism states that building up true cooperation between different actors is not possible because economic and political differences between actors can damage the emergence of a genuine strategic partnership. At the same time, unequal cooperation can make weak actors more dependent on strong ones. Hypothesis 8 is "the Africa-EU SSP makes African organisations more dependent on the EU." The APF was established with the financial support of the EU in 2004, at a time when the EU was reinforcing the APSA with its financial assistance to enhance African organisations' peace and security mechanisms. Importantly, the AU strengthened its peacekeeping operation in Sudan in 2006 with the financial support of the EU, but the EU's economic assistance to African organisations is making African organisations more dependent on the EU. It seems that African organisations would not take action to sustain peace and security in conflict areas if the EU and other global actors did not provide financial support. This supports hypothesis

8. African organisations should find their own way of strengthening their own peace and security structure. For example, coordination between the members of the African organisations should be increased. The EU's financial contributions to crisis prevention and management efforts in Africa have strengthened African regional organisations, but, by necessity, have also made them more dependent on outside support. African organisations first need to increase economic and political cooperation between African nations to reduce dependency of Africa on outside powers.

There are mixed motivations behind the establishment of the Africa-EU SSP. First, some of the EU members aim to protect their economic and political relations with Africa through the Africa-EU SSP. Second, conflicts and wars threaten political and economic stability in Africa and damage the EU's political and economic interests. Therefore, the EU wishes to play a more active role in sustaining peace and security in Africa through this partnership. Furthermore, the EU members consider that international cooperation is necessary for combating new threats and challenges. It can be said that the Africa-EU SSP also endeavours to fight against international terrorism, immigration issues and the proliferation of WMD. The third motivation is that the growth of the EU, with 10 new European states joining the union in 2004, has forced the EU to increase its global responsibility. The fourth motivation is historical relations between the two continents. In particular, some of the EU members take steps to foster their historical relations with Africa linked with their own interests. It has been argued that though historical ties do not have a great impact on the creation of security cooperation, the significance of historical relations should not be ignored in this partnership. The assumptions of realim, liberalism and constructivism apply to the Africa-EU SSP but the predictions of realism and liberalism are more applicable to this security cooperation. The EU's policy towards Africa is driven by somewhat contradictory rationales, characterized by dependence on natural resources and trade with Africa on the one hand and a genuine interest to maintain peace and stability on the continent on the other.

African organisations need to increase their security relations with the EU in order to strengthen their peace and security structures. In particular, conflicts and wars have forced African organisations to cooperate with the EU in the fields of peace and security. An SSP between Africa and the EU can be possible, however, security cooperation should focus on the root causes of conflicts and wars, not only financial support for African organisations' security mechanisms. Both actors need to create a system that decreases Africa's dependency on global actors. For example, the members of the AU should create a common funding system to

support African peacekeeping operations without receiving financial assistance from outside powers. In particular, the members of the AU should increase cooperation with each other in a wide range of activities. Weak and ineffective African organisations will have to remain passive in world politics and cannot play a constructive role in solving their security problems.

Empirical evidence as presented in this dissertation has shown that the EU has shifted its foreign and security policy towards Africa since 2000. Before 2000, the EU used its "soft power" to bolster its economic and political relations with African countries, but after 2000 it began to employ its "hard power" to enhance security cooperation. Clearly, new threats and challenges, potential EU enlargement, the EU's strong economic and political relations with Africa, and the 9/11 tragedy have all played a significant role in transforming the EU's foreign and security policy towards Africa. As important evidence of its changing foreign and security policy in Africa, the EU has deployed peacekeeping operations in the DRC, Chad, the CAR, Guinea-Bissau and Somalia.

However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, the EU's military or security capacity is not enough to sustain lasting peace and security in the conflict areas of Africa. The EU failed to preserve peace and security in the Balkans in the 1990s during the war. At the same time, the EU could not play an active role in stopping war between Russia and Georgia in 2008. Importantly, the disagreement between the members of the EU on the foreign policies of its member states damages the development of a strong strategic partnership between Africa and the EU. Though the EU has played an important role in maintaining peace and security in Africa since 2003, its security activities in the conflict areas remain limited and ineffective. The evidence shows that the EU's first military operation in the DRC in 2003, called "Artemis Military Operations" was limited and ineffective in creating lasting peace, security and stability in the country.

Empirical evidence provided in this dissertation demonstrates that African organisations do not have effective security mechanisms to sustain peace and security. In particular, the discrepancy between the members of the African organisations has undermined the effectiveness of African organisations. Furthermore, most of the African states face economic, social and political difficulties which undermine the evolution of a strategic partnership in the areas of peace and security with the EU. African organisations would not deploy a peacekeeping operation in a conflict area if the global actors would not support it, because of their economic and political challenges. For instance, the AU would not have authorised a peacekeeping operation in Sudan/Darfur in 2004 without the EU's financial and political

support. Research presented in this dissertation has also revealed that international powers can use their financial support as a strategic tool to keep or shape their economic and political interests. The EU aims to secure its own security and increase its economic and political interests through the SSP with Africa. It can be said that the SSP between Africa and the EU was born as a result of conjunctional developments.

After the 9/11 attacks on the US, the EU began to increase its institutional relations with African organisations. The EU's relations with Africa had been based mainly on aid and economic relations before 2000. Strengthening its relations with African organisations at the institutional level has offered significant opportunities for the EU. Firstly, the EU began to increase its global power in Africa through the SSP. Secondly, it took a strategic step to keep its economic and political interests in Africa against the new emerging actors' increasing economic and political relations with Africa by establishing an SSP. Thirdly, it set up its new security mechanisms in cooperation with African organisations so as to fight the new threats and challenges more effectively.

Countering international terrorism, migration problems, climate change, failed states, conflicts, wars, and the proliferation of WMD has become the most important policy for the EU since 2000. To do so the EU has decided to increase its cooperation with African organisations in the areas of peace and security at the institutional level and to strengthen their security mechanisms. As this dissertation has shown, establishing an SSP with African organisations has become the most important strategy for the EU to battle against these challenges. The EU has also developed new international mechanisms in cooperation with African organisations to spread its own values and norms in the world. Finally, the EU wishes to take on more global responsibilities to contribute to global peace and security through the establishment of strategic partnerships.