



Africa in Finnish Foreign Policy



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AFRICA IN FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY

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Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland
Department for Africa and the Middle East
P.O. Box 541
00023 Government
Tel.: +358-9-16005
E-mail: ali-01@formin.fi

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1. INTRODUCTION

Africa is a neighboring continent to Europe that in many ways is closer to Europe than before. Africa and Europe depend on each other when they strive for welfare and security. Africa is also a part of the international community whose cooperation is needed more and more for the solution of the biggest problems facing mankind. For these reasons it is necessary to stop once in a while to reflect on both the state and situation of Africa in the world and on Finnish goals and activities regarding Africa.

There are plenty of good and topical analyses on Africa. They are not being repeated here - we are not trying to invent the wheel again. Instead, our goal is to highlight a few central points. A common feature in most of the latest analyses has been to underscore an integrated and broad view. Everything has an impact on everything else. Security and development are two sides of the same coin. Single problems cannot be solved nor can opportunities be seized, without understanding the links to others.

At this stage, the aim is neither to elaborate a broad all-encompassing Africa policy. However, in the coming years it would be useful to elaborate such a policy as a cooperation between different administrative branches, because a growing number of ministries and agencies are nowadays dealing with issues related to Africa.

The purpose of this paper is to give an overview of Finnish foreign policy goals and ways of operation in relation to Africa. All sectors under the umbrella notion of foreign policy are included, albeit that development and trade policy are treated in a somewhat sketchy way, since they have been dealt with in more detail elsewhere. The main point is that the activities in all these segments serve the same foreign policy goals.

There are three different levels in the Finnish Africa policy: the bilateral relations, the EU and the multilateral organisations. Finland is active on all these levels. The EU is in many ways central, because it is both an important partner to Africa in political, trade as well as in development issues and a powerful actor in multilateral contexts.

In Finnish bilateral Africa relations the emphasis has traditionally been foremost in development cooperation but also in trade relations. In Finnish thinking - and especially in our actions - issues more closely related to peace and security, or to the political conditions of the countries, have long remained in the background. The time has come to pay greater attention to these issues, because the multidimensional character of Africa's challenges requires an integrated policy. It is important to develop a vision of how Finland can facilitate - on different forums and with different instruments - the stability and improvement of the political and social conditions in Africa.

Development cooperation will continue to be the most important direct point of contact between Africa and Finland. Development cooperation has in recent years evolved into development policy which also means that the cooperation dialogue is conducted on a broader range of issues related to development. In the framework programme "Africa in Finnish Development Policy", published in July 2009, Finnish activities in Africa in the field of development policy have been dealt with in detail.

Our foreign policy goals and actions regarding Africa must be based on three principles. The possibilities and challenges that Africa presents must be considered broadly and their interdependencies must be understood. An integrated view in our Africa policy is needed and the different policy segments have to play well together. Thirdly, Africa has to be seen as a partner and our relations as a partnership where both partners can draw benefits.

Last, a small reminder about the Nordic dimension. The Nordic countries have traditionally formed an important reference group for Finnish relations with Africa. The Nordic countries still have a good reputation in Africa. Our thinking is similar in terms of a partnership with Africa. Even though the EU is the central framework for the Finnish Africa policy, the possibilities of Nordic cooperation must be kept in mind. The Nordic cooperation also seeks new avenues. An example of this is e.g. the cooperation between Nordic defense administrations to develop African crisis management capacities

2. ON THE STATE OF AFRICA

Peace and stability are the prerequisites for favourable development on the African continent. The weak state structures are a pervasive problem in the development of African countries ever since their independence, and many of the challenges that Africa faces today are, in one way or another, related to this problem.

Armed crises and conflicts are the underlying causes of many African problems. The number of armed conflicts in Africa has decreased recently, but there are still more crises there than in any other continent. Many of them are intra-state conflicts. Several have become drawn-out and are very complex. Often a large part of the civilian population suffers their consequences. In some countries, e.g. in Sudan, several different conflicts have raged simultaneously.

In order to achieve peace in Africa and to consolidate it, efforts of the whole international community are needed. However, the main responsibility must be assumed by Africa itself. Africa's ownership to the development of peace and security on the continent has strengthened considerably in the 2000's with the development of the African Union (AU). The development of regional organisations has also been a positive trend.

In particular, the so called fragile states serve as a virtual breeding-ground for *extremist movements and terrorism*. Somalia has the most critical situation and can already be considered a totally failed state. The conflict in Somalia has increased the threat of violence and terrorist attacks also in its neighbouring countries.

The strengthening of Islamic fundamentalism in certain African countries creates instability in Northern Africa, the Sahel and the Horn of Africa. At the same time, it may lead to an increased terrorist threat all over the world. For example, it is estimated that the al-Qaida organisation is well organised especially in East Africa.

The problem of social radicalism is connected with the general conditions of development and, in particular, with lack of economic develop-

ment. One contributing factor is the fast population growth, which surpasses the economic growth.

Africa is particularly vulnerable to the consequences of *climate change* since the economic structure is heavily dominated by agriculture. The consequences of climate change are, among others, a reduction in cultivable land, increased food prices, and more frequent natural disasters. The prospects for the African countries to adapt to the consequences of climate change are poor: poverty, strong dependence on natural resources, and bad governance hamper the adaptation. Africa's own share of global carbon dioxide emissions is less than four per cent.

The decrease of water resources, in particular, carries with it a considerable threat potential. The dispute over the Nile River water resources, which extend over the territory of nine states, has been one of the main causes of conflict in the region.

For instance, in the Darfur conflict, underlying factors originating in climate change and in the deterioration of the environment have been observed. Climate change as such does not cause conflicts, but it can exacerbate and aggravate other risk factors ("threat multiplier"). The effects of climate change on stability can be mitigated if the ability of the societies to control the concrete consequences of climate change and to adapt to them is developed.

The crises in Africa and the problems of the so called fragile states on the continent are reflected in the European territory most concretely through *migration and refugee flows*. At the same time, many African countries carry a significant burden by providing asylum for refugees from neighbouring countries.

It is estimated that there are in all nine million refugees and internally displaced people in Africa. A quarter of all refugees in the world covered by the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) comes from Africa. Most of the African refugees are fleeing armed conflicts. Sudan, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the countries in Africa generating the largest refugee flows.

Africa is the region of origin of both legal and illegal migration flows. In particular Northern Africa provides labour force that Europe is going to need in the future. On the one hand, the brain drain is a considerable challenge for development, but on the other hand the remittances by the migrants constitute an important source of income for many countries. Human smuggling and human trafficking to Europe are very serious human rights problems. EU has strengthened its cooperation with, in particular, the Maghreb countries, on the one hand, to fight against illegal immigration and, on the other hand, to strengthen the protection of refugees also in the so called transit countries.

The challenges for the consolidation of *democracy* in Africa are still considerable, despite the fact that many countries in Africa have transformed in to multi-party democracies after the end of the cold war. The populations of the countries in Africa are diverse with regard to their ethnic background, religion and languages. In many countries, the party system is based on ethnicity rather than on ideology. In many African countries, the nation-building process is still under way, despite the fact that already several decades have passed since they gained their independence. A great deal of conflict potential is connected with elections in the different stages of the election process, often already from the census and registration of voters.

The idea of broad-based political cooperation has still not gained ground sufficiently. Often, democracy does not either show in the everyday lives of people as a better functioning administration and as better public services. The stability of democracy would require, for instance, protection of minorities and access to public services without discrimination, in all parts of a country – regardless which political group has the majority there.

Even though democracy has made some headway, efforts towards democracy are still very fragile. Military coups are an example of this. Those in power may also try to extend their mandates through changes to the constitution, in which case it is more difficult for the international community to intervene.

In some instances it is estimated that private actors with interests related

to the exploitation, for instance, of natural resources or to drug traffic have been involved in military coups. In Western Africa, the Sahel region and the Gulf of Guinea states are getting a more prominent role on the EU agenda because of the complex problems there. Several EU countries experience that the threats arising from these regions are reflected directly in their own security, especially through the threat of illegal immigration, drug traffic, human trafficking, and terrorism.

Poverty is closely related to security, the consequences of climate change as well as to the deficiencies in the political system. Even though Africa is a very rich continent in natural resources, it is still the poorest of all continents. Africa has 12 per cent of the world population, but the continent only produces approximately one per cent of the world combined GNP. Life expectation in most countries in Africa is still very low: e.g. in Angola it was 40 years in 2007 and in Mozambique and Zambia it was less than 42 years. Of all those who have contracted HIV/AIDS in the world, 75 per cent are in Africa. Africa is the continent where achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals by the target date of 2015 is least likely.

Before the financial crisis in the autumn of 2008 and the international recession that followed, the economic growth in Africa was relatively strong; in 2007 even six per cent. The growth was largely due to an increase in income from the exports of oil and other raw materials. The growth was accelerated by the demand that the strong growth in China and other countries in Asia created. However, improved economic policy and consolidation of peace after war have also played an important role in many African countries.

The international financial crisis and the recession in the global economy slow down Africa's economic growth. In particular, the diminished demand for export products and the reduction in foreign investments, tourism, and the remittances by the migrants threaten Africa's economic development.

Africa's strong *population growth* compounds both the economic and the political development efforts. The continent's population has already surpassed the one billion (one thousand million) mark. In other devel-

oping continents, the population growth has already started to slow down, but in Africa this change has not occurred. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 40 to 49 per cent of the population is under 15 years of age. Youth unemployment is considered one of the most important challenges of the societies in Africa in the near future. The population growth is also a heavy burden to environment capacity.

The most important challenges for society and development in Africa are closely connected. Poverty creates a breeding ground for conflicts and conflicts make it more difficult to attract investments to the continent that would be essential for economic growth and for the eradication of poverty. The multidimensional problems of Africa have the heaviest impact in the fragile states of Africa. These problems are reflected in Europe, i.a. as a threat of terrorism, illegal immigration, human trafficking, and drug trafficking. Northern Africa, which is EU's southern neighbour, is in a particularly important position. The positive development in Africa increases the importance of the region as a market area for trade and investments for EU countries and also provides other new possibilities for broad-based cooperation.

3. ON THE POSITION OF AFRICA

Internal integration in Africa has advanced considerably in the last few years. The African Union (AU) is an organisation with 53 African member states. The AU started its activities in 2002 as the successor to the Organisation of African Union OAU.

With the start of the AU, Africa has assumed increased responsibility for its own crises and conflicts. Instead of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs that was characteristic of the OAU, the thinking is now that AU members must not remain indifferent in front of the armed conflicts, military coups, and massive violations of human rights going on in the member countries.

Within the AU, a series of treaties have been elaborated for the African states in order to promote democracy, human rights and the system of

rule of law to complement the universal conventions on human rights. In 2007, the AU adopted an African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. However, the ratification of the Charter has progressed slowly. The value of the agreements ultimately depends on how their implementation is progressing.

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is a proof of the AU's efforts to strengthen the African capacity for conflict prevention and crisis management, even though it is still largely financed from external sources. The most important elements in the architecture are the AU Peace and Security Council that was established in 2004, the so called Panel of the Wise that was appointed in 2007, and the establishment of a Continental Early Warning System and of the African Standby Force (ASF). The goal of the AU is to have the Standby Force, which is made up of five regional standby brigades, operational in 2010. However, the process has been delayed and the regional brigades are in very different states of development one from another.

Even though the AU to a growing extent also addresses issues related to human rights and crisis management in its member countries, it has been difficult for it to find working solutions to some of the acutest situations on the African continent. An example of this is Somalia, where the AU AMISOM troops have difficulties defending the government in Mogadishu, or Zimbabwe, where the AU has been unable to handle the ongoing violations of human rights. The AU also has its own system to fight against terrorism aiming at i.a. increasing the knowledge of the threat of terrorism in Africa and helping member countries in the AU to develop the capacity of their national authorities to fight against terrorism. The AU African Center on the Study and Research on Terrorism is located in Algiers. It is still in the process of developing its role.

In particular, economic integration in Africa is taking place also on the regional level. There are several organisations in Africa promoting regional integration and trade, which also implement the goals of the AU. The relationship between the AU and these Regional Economic Communities (RECs) is institutionalised. Especially the Economic Community Of West African States, ECOWAS, has been very active in political issues and e.g. reacted on military coups and violence within the

region, often faster than the AU. Also the Southern Africa Development Community, SADC, which the Nordic Countries have long cooperated with, is an active promoter of economic as well as political cooperation in the region. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development, IGAD, had a central role, when the peace agreement between Northern and Southern Sudan was signed in Naivasha in 2005. IGAD endeavours to be active also in the efforts to solve the conflict in Somalia.

NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) is the development programme of the AU with the objective to fight against poverty. When NEPAD was established at the beginning of the 2000's it was the object of high expectations. The integration of NEPAD into the AU is still not completely finished. Also the Pan-African nature of the programme is in the process of being elaborated.

Finnish objectives

- **Recent development within the AU, in particular in the area of peace and security, is a positive development that has strengthened Africa's international position. The fact that Africa has assumed increased responsibility for its own affairs is also in the interests of Finland.**
- **Finland aims at encouraging the member countries of the AU to ratify the Democracy Charter as soon as possible and to commit also otherwise to the work of the AU to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law.**
- **Also the promotion of economic integration in Africa is very important for the development of the continent.**
- **Finland influences actively the substantive preparations of the meetings between the EU and the AU and the formulation of the EU messages.**
- **Finland further activates the bilateral relations with the Commission of the AU and with the regional African organisations promoting integration and trade (RECs).**

Africa's position gained prominence on the *agenda of the international community* during the 2000's, when the Group of Eight, G8, comprised of leading industrialised countries, in its summit in 2005 in Gleneagles agreed on considerable debt relief and aid increases to Africa. In

connection with the G8 summits, meetings between the most important African states are also organised regularly.

Questions related to the international financial architecture, affecting Africa, have also been on the agenda of the summits of the newly established G20. South Africa is the only African member state in the G20. Finland does not belong to the G-groups but participates in the Africa Partnership Forum (APF) established to support the G8 Africa initiatives. Finland belongs to the non-G8 constituency of the APF. The Forum prepares, among others, the messages for the Africa Outreach sessions with the G8, which are meetings with the leaders of the most important African countries in connection with the G8 summits. There are limitations to formal participation in the meetings of non-members, but there are ways to exert influence especially through informal networking.

Finnish objectives

- **Finland welcomes the interest in Africa of the leading economic powers, the G8, and their readiness to make commitments in support of Africa.**
- **It is important that there is also an African member country in the G20, South Africa.**
- **Finland aims at influencing decisions on Africa in the G8 and the G20 primarily through the EU. Finland also exploits the possibilities to influence that the Africa Partnership Forum provides.**

In recent years, *emerging economic powers like China and India* have significantly increased their activity in Africa. Some even speak about a new geopolitical race to Africa. The activities of the emerging economic powers have changed the international financial and trade flows as well as the aid architecture and influenced the competitive conditions for companies, including Finnish ones, on the African market. The emerging economic powers (excluding Korea which is joining in 2010) are not members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD, which is the key forum for developing aid related guidelines. The role of China, in particular, but also that of other so called emerging donors has influenced the operational preconditions of Western Countries politically: the emerging donors stress non-interference in

internal matters and traditional sovereignty, whereas the EU emphasizes democracy, human rights and good governance.

The role of China in Africa grew significantly during the 2000's. China has become Africa's third largest trade partner after the EU and the United States. Only during the years 2005 and 2006, the investments of Chinese companies in Africa almost doubled. More than 70 per cent of Chinese imports from Africa are oil and other fuels. The most important trade partners in Sub-Saharan Africa are Angola, Sudan and Congo.

At the same time, China is increasingly engaged in development cooperation with Africa. It is estimated that China used 0.25 to 0.35 per cent of its gross domestic product for development aid from 2006 to 2008. The share is bigger than that of certain OECD/DAC countries. However, it is difficult to obtain reliable data on the volume of the development cooperation of China.

China has directed its financing in Africa foremost to infrastructure projects that often attract high visibility. What is typical for the cooperation is that there are no conditions attached to Chinese aid other than the fact that the cooperation country must observe the One-China policy.

India has in its relations with Africa stressed the historic connection and experiences as trade, Diaspora and experiences of colonialism. India aims at stressing Africa's importance even otherwise than only as a source of raw materials or as an investment object. India differs from China and the other emerging economic powers by providing experts and grants instead of direct financial aid. India has already for a long time actively contributed troops to African peacekeeping missions.

Russia has gradually increased its engagement in Africa after a more passive period in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The Russian G8 presidency increased Africa's importance in Russia's foreign policy. Russia stresses the importance of African countries as UN members and looks for allies among them, for instance, when it advocates a multipolar world. Russia participates in all UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.

Finnish objectives

- The dialogue on Africa with the emerging economic powers needs to be increased, including on development policy. The initiative of the EU Commission in October 2008 to start a tripartite cooperation and a trialogue is a step in the right direction. The dialogue with the emerging donors should be conducted also on the expert level and between unofficial actors (the so called track-two actors).
- In the dialogue, it must be possible to discuss also human rights and good governance as well as issues such as peace and security.
- Finland keeps questions related to Africa actively on the agenda in bilateral relations with China and also in the EU-China relations. Finland aims at always including a paragraph on the common efforts related to Africa in the final documents of the EU-China summits.

Africa is an *active advocate of traditional multilateralism and in particular of the UN system*. Many of the operative development organisations within the UN focus on Africa in their work. The UN, and in particular its General Assembly, is the international forum where Africa has the best possibilities to get its voice heard because of the one country, one vote principle. The African countries therefore stress the importance of the UN as the only universal and acceptable forum in relation to other institutions. African countries constitute an important part of the developing countries' group in the UN, the G-77, and of the Non-Aligned Movement, NAM. Finland's long-term partner countries in Africa have also an important role in the G-77.

The African countries are, after Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India, the biggest troop-contributing countries to UN operations. Approximately, a third of all UN peacekeepers come from Africa. Questions related to peacekeeping activities are a field where African countries are especially active in the UN, also on the political level.

The views of the EU and other Western countries differ in many questions from those of the G-77 countries in the United Nations. The rigid positions of the different groupings based on the one country, one vote

principle has had a weakening effect on the capacity and credibility of the United Nations. The EU and the countries of Africa should therefore even more than before seek common ground to respond to the global challenges and to strengthen the UN. This requires readiness for compromises from all parties. Finland has good chances to act as a bridge-builder, because Finland is not the object of misgivings related a colonial past or to military or economic ambitions. For its own part, Finland is ready to support efforts to strengthen the negotiation capacity of the African countries. Among others, this is the objective of the Institute for Sustainable Development that is being established in 2010 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, with Finnish funding.

One of the most challenging international negotiation processes recently have been the climate change negotiations, where the G-77 includes both important oil producing countries and some of the poorest African countries that are the ones most affected by climate change, for instance, through desertification. A challenge for the climate change negotiations is that those African countries in the most difficult situation regarding environmental change have not been always able to make their independent voice clearly heard.

Finnish objectives

- **An intensive dialogue will be pursued with Africa on the development of the multilateral system and on the issues on its agenda. Africa is an important partner to Finland as a supporter of the multilateral system. Even though views are diverging on many issues, the appreciation for the multilateral cooperation is in itself a rallying point.**
- **The EU and the African countries must seek more common ground to respond to global challenges and to strengthen the UN.**
- **Finland supports, within its possibilities, the participation of Africa in multilateral cooperation, including by developing the negotiation capacity of African countries.**
- **Finland aims at acting as a bridge-builder together with the so called like-minded countries. Finland is well placed for this since Finland is not associated with doubts related to a colonial past or to military and economic ambitions.**

- In international negotiation processes Finland takes into account the specific situation of the African countries and supports, e.g. in the climate change negotiations, finding such solutions that in the best way possible would mitigate climate change, and would help adapting to it in those African countries that are most affected by climate change.

4. AFRICA IN FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY

Finland has specific goals related to Africa that are promoted through bilateral action, the EU and multilateral cooperation. The cooperation structures between the EU and Africa form in many ways the central framework also for the actions of Finland. These structures are also an important channel for influence, because the EU is the most important partner to Africa in politics, trade as well as in development cooperation.

4.1 Security and Political Situation

4.1.1 Crisis Management, Prevention and Mediation

The international community aims at supporting the African Union when it to an increasing degree assumes responsibility for solving the conflicts on the continent. The AU has experience from crisis management e.g. in Darfur and Somalia. Further, the AU and the regional organisations such as ECOWAS in Western Africa have sent smaller troops to other conflict situations.

The EU has supported the operations of the African Union i.a. through large-scale funding and through the provision of experts. Apart from separate operations, the EU supports the development of African crisis management capacity. With the help of financial support from the EU, an exercise for decision-making and planning in crisis management (AMANI AFRCIA) is being prepared for the African Union and the regional organisations.

The large number of armed crises and conflicts in Africa has on the whole demanded considerable investments from the international community. At the beginning of 2009, seven of the UN's crisis management operations were in Africa, more than in any other continent. Also a considerable part of the EU's crisis management operations (nine out of 21) has been carried out in Africa. At present, five EU operations are ongoing in Africa: a marine crisis management operation to combat piracy at the Somali coast (Atalanta), a training mission to train the Somali security forces (EUTM Somalia), an EU operation to support the security sector of Guinea-Bissau, and two operations to support the reforms of the security sector in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Government report on Finnish security and defence policy serves as a guideline for the development of Finnish international crisis management activities. The significance of Africa in Finnish crisis management activities has grown. In the years 2000 to 2008, Finland participated in the UN operation on the border region of Ethiopia and Eritrea, at the most with 180 soldiers. Finland also participated in the EU operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2006. Two Finnish gender equality experts work in the EU operations that support the reform of the security sector of the country.

Finland participated in the EU operation in Chad and the Central African Republic during the years 2008 to 2009. After the end of that operation, participation continued in the UN operation with approximately 80 soldiers. Finland also participates with a small contribution in the UN operations in Sudan and Liberia, and with civilian police in the joint UN and AU operation in Darfur.

Finland participates actively in the standby shifts of the EU battle-groups and in the Civilian Response Teams. The principles for using the Rapid Reaction Forces should be implemented flexibly so that they could react quickly e.g. to crises in Africa.

Finland aims at strengthening its support to the development of crisis management capacity in Africa through the EU. Particular attention will be attached to the development of civilian crisis management and to promoting a comprehensive approach to crisis management. The

defence administrations of the Nordic Countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland) support the development of crisis management capacity in Eastern Africa. Finland aims at strengthening Nordic cooperation also in the support of African civilian crisis management capacity. Positive cooperation experience has already been gained from police education in Africa, led by Norway.

Finland finds it important to support the overall development of Africa also through the means that arms control provides: bilaterally, within the framework of EU activities and multilaterally. On different international fora, the African countries also themselves stress the consequences of illegal and irresponsible proliferation of arms. Finland is active in international processes to prevent such activity, in particular, the proliferation of small arms. Finland has an active role in the project aiming at an international Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), advocated actively also by the African countries. The objective of the treaty is to create global rules for arms trade. The treaty would help prevent irresponsible trade to African conflict regions or to countries, where the arms end up being used for serious human rights violations. Finland also consistently emphasises the harmonization of EU's own practices for arms exports.

Finland stresses the importance of developing peace mediation in Africa. Finland participates in peace mediation efforts in Africa and endeavours to develop new Finnish know-how in this field. Finland aims at strengthening African Union peace mediation capacity and is active in developing peace mediation in the framework of the EU and the UN. Finland supports the programme aiming at developing African Union peace mediation through a three-year project financed through development cooperation funds. Finland also stresses the role of non-governmental organisations in peace mediation.

Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb nominated Mr. Pekka Haavisto, Member of the Parliament, to his Special Representative for Crises in Africa in January 2009. Mr. Haavisto's mandate covers the Horn of Africa and Sudan. In the background of the nomination were Mr. Haavisto's longstanding experience and knowledge of the situation and actors in the region, and the acknowledgement by the international

community of his activities and large contact network. Mr. Haavisto has also been the European Union Special Representative for Sudan. Through Mr. Haavisto's activities, Finland is better placed than before to also influence EU and UN activities in the region.

Special Representative Haavisto has good and extensive cooperation relations with the different actors in the region. His task is to produce and communicate information on the conflicts and on the views of the different actors, as well as to prepare concrete proposals to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on support for the peace processes. Mr. Haavisto acts in close cooperation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and with the Finnish diplomatic missions in the region. He visits the region regularly, conducts talks with different actors and represents Finland in international meetings, where the situation in the region is discussed. Such meetings are e.g. the meetings of the International Somalia Contact Group.

Finnish objectives

- **Finland emphasises a comprehensive approach to conflict prevention, crisis management, crisis resolution and post-conflict recovery in Africa.**
- **Finland further develops its participation in crisis management in Africa, especially in the framework of the common security and defence policy of the EU. Finland aims at strengthening its support to the development of African crisis management capacity.**
- **Finland also stresses the role of the UN in peace mediation, crisis management and peace building in Africa.**
- **Finland supports the development of African peace mediation capacity and participates in peace mediation in Africa. The Horn of Africa and Sudan are the focus of the mediation efforts.**
- **When there is a need, Finland is ready to support peace mediation efforts financially or through human resources. Finland also keeps the possibility open to provide Finland as the venue for meetings related to different peace processes.**
- **Finland emphasises the promotion of human rights in crisis management and peace mediation.**
- **Finland stresses the need for supporting Africa's development also through arms control.**

4.1.2 Human Rights, Democracy and Good Governance

In its dialogue with African countries, Finland stresses international law and universal human rights based on international treaties. Democracy is not in the same way defined in international treaties. Each democracy chooses itself the structure for its democratic system. Many human rights can be realized in practice only in a democracy. Free media is an important part of a democratic society and thus also a precondition for development. Good governance again entails the development of public administration to guarantee law and order as well as basic services for the public, which are basic conditions for stability and development. The geographic scope, effectiveness, and liability of public administration create stability, whereas corruption erodes the legitimacy of the state.

These questions are discussed on all political levels where African issues are on the agenda: in the multilateral system, on the EU level and in the dialogue between donor states and the aid receiving countries. The human rights dialogue that Finland is engaged in with its development cooperation partner countries is important from the point of view of Finnish bilateral influence.

Women's rights are one of the prioritized areas in Finnish human rights policy. Examples of flagrant violations of women's rights in Africa are i.a. the widespread economic discrimination, e.g. regarding inheritance rights or the right to own land, female genital mutilation as part of the cultural practices as well as child marriages. African women are in a particularly vulnerable situation in armed conflicts. The UN Security Council has focused on this question in its resolutions 1325 (Women, peace and security) and 1820 (Sexual violence in conflicts). Resolution 1325 stresses further that women should not be seen only as victims, instead their active participation in the prevention and management of conflicts as well as in post-conflict reconstruction should be emphasised.

In African conflicts, also the rights of children are violated to an exceptionally large extent. The illegal recruitment of children to armed groups, sexual violence and human trafficking have affected millions of children in Africa. UN Security Council resolution 1612 (Children in armed conflicts) aims at limiting these human rights violations.

Finland acts as a part of the EU in the human rights organs of the UN. The most important of these organs are the UN Human Rights Council and the Third Committee of the General Assembly of the UN, which continues to have a leading role as a universal body for human rights policy. It is necessary to further develop the current cooperation between the EU and Africa in the Human Rights Council. There are differences in the views of the regional groups, e.g. when it comes to guaranteeing operational conditions for the country-specific UN rapporteurs.

Finland stresses the importance of curtailing the culture of impunity and of guaranteeing the criminal responsibility of individuals in the most serious international crimes. These are crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes. The rapid development of international criminal law from the 1990's can be seen in the investigations into the situations after conflicts in Africa. African states have also significantly contributed to the establishment and functioning of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

The international Criminal Court gave an arrest warrant in November 2009 for the President of Sudan, Mr. Al-Bashir. It would be important that the decisions of the court receive coherent international support, also from the African states. Finland stressed the importance of the autonomy and independence of the judiciary as well as the implementation of the decisions of the court.

Finland emphasises the role of good governance and the fight against corruption in order to achieve sustainable development in Africa. Corruption is an obstacle to economic growth, it hinders the flow into the country of foreign investments and development aid, weakens the accessibility of public services and the trust by the public in the democratic system.

EU's election observation missions are an important means to follow the situation in African democracies. Each year the EU carries out several election monitoring operations in African countries at the invitation of the respective governments. Also the AU and the regional organisations in Africa have developed their election observation capacity.

Finnish objectives

- Human rights are an important topic every time that Africa is discussed on multilateral fora, within the EU, or bilaterally, and every time that there is a dialogue with African countries. Finland acts as part of the EU in UN human rights organs.
- The most important forum for Finland to influence human rights in Africa bilaterally is the dialogue conducted within the framework of development cooperation. An important forum for exerting influence is the dialogue in connection with budget support that often takes place in a larger group of donor countries.
- Finland promotes actively the recommendations of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (Women, peace and security) and 1820 (Sexual violence against civilian populations in conflicts).
- Finland supports the International Criminal Court ICC and endeavours to promote a reduction in impunity in Africa.
- Finland strives to, when needed, act as a bridge-builder on multilateral fora, i.a. through highlighting economic, social and cultural rights alongside civil and political rights.

4.1.3 Africa in the Foreign and Security Policy of the EU

Out of the issues on the agenda of the EU's Foreign Affairs Council, about half are related to Africa or the Middle East. Finland speaks out on African conflicts, the violations of human rights and problems related to democracy development as a member country of the EU within the framework of the common foreign and security policy (CFSP). The common security and defence policy (CSDP) and decisions of launching EU crisis management operations or actions related to natural disasters are parts of the common foreign and security policy.

Finland attaches special attention to the countries in the Horn of Africa. In that region, there are fragile and failed states, enormous human rights problems, humanitarian crises and as a more recent problem, piracy along the Somali coast. Especially the development towards greater radicalism may also lead to Islamic movements taking root in the region of the Horn of Africa, and there is a danger that Somalia to a

growing extent becomes a base for international terrorist movements. In Sudan, on the other hand, there is a threat of a civil war. Because of the large area of the country and its regional significance, the consequences of its possible break-down could be very serious.

Finland participates actively also in the EU decision making on questions related to Maghreb countries in Northern Africa. It is an important neighbouring region to the EU, connected with many opportunities and challenges at the same time. At the junction of two continents, Egypt in particular comes to the focus of attention because of its role in the Middle East peace process, its geographical position, its considerable market potential, and relative stability.

Finland is also active in questions related to its own long-term partner countries. For instance, in Kenya, Finland has long been the leading donor country in the sector of governance, justice, law and administration, which gives Finland particular reason to pay attention to corruption, impunity and human rights situation in Kenya, also within the EU. In addition to the long-term partner countries, Finland is also following closely the situation in Zimbabwe.

When the representations of the Commission become representations of the EU through the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, the coverage of foreign and security policy by the EU and its member states will be intensified in all African countries. This will also benefit Finland. The common external administration of the EU is also expected to improve the Union's external choice of instruments and the coordination between the different policies and hereby lead to even more consistent activities in relation to third countries.

Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement is the basis for the political dialogue between the EU and Sub-Saharan Africa. The content of Article 8 dialogues is agreed beforehand, based on recommendations of Heads of Missions of EU countries and the Commission stationed in the country in question. Consultations based on Article 96 are used especially in situations where there have been serious human rights violations or violations of democratic principles, leading to the consideration of suspending development cooperation.

Finnish objectives

- Finland aims at consistent and effective EU activity in Africa. Finland supports the development of the common foreign and security policy of the EU and that the European External Action Service starts its activities rapidly.
- Through the European External Action Service, the EEAS, the EU is able to influence more effectively in regions that are important also for Finland. In addition, Finland has a possibility to get information and channels for influence also in countries where it does not have its own diplomatic missions.
- Finland stresses the actions of the EU to prevent crises and conflicts. The Union must have sufficient resources to support countries in Africa that have ended up in armed conflicts and countries that are susceptible to them also through military and civilian crisis management means. Finland stresses the importance of the EU developing crisis management cooperation with the UN, the AU and NATO.
- Finland stresses the importance of the Article 8 dialogue of the Cotonou Agreement and, when needed, also consultations based on Article 96, to promote the objectives of the common foreign and security policy of the EU in a way that serves the coherence of EU external relations.
- Finland provides actively candidates to positions related to Africa in the permanent and temporary posts at the European External Action Service both in Brussels and in the field.

4.1.4 Africa and the United Nations Security Council

The UN Security Council has the primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security and power to decide on actions that are legally binding for states. Among the questions that the UN Security Council are considering, 60 to 70 per cent are related to Africa. African countries are to a large extent also those that implement the resolutions of the UN Security Council within the framework of the African Union and the regional organisations.

With the rise of global and regional powers (such as India, Japan, Brazil and South Africa), the Security Council is no longer representative or equal with regard to the composition of the countries in the world. At

present, African states have three non-permanent members in the Security Council, which they consider insufficient when taking into account the weight and role of the continent.

The UN Peace Building Commission started its activities in June 2006. Its purpose is to strengthen and develop the support measures of the UN to stabilise and develop countries that suffer from conflicts through an integrated and long-term approach. On the country level, the peace building efforts are supported by the UN Peace Building Fund. The work of the Peace Building Commission is presently focusing on Africa and the target countries are Burundi, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic.

Finnish objectives

- **The UN Security Council must be enlarged to better correspond to the current situation in the world. Finland supports the stronger representation of the African continent in the UN Security Council.**
- **Finland stresses the importance of the multilateral international system and of equal opportunities to participate in it. Finland emphasises the role of the UN, the EU and the AU in developing international cooperation to respond to current global challenges.**
- **Finland supports the work of the UN Peace Building Commission in Africa.**

4.2. Development

The emphasis of Finnish development policy has traditionally been on Africa. The framework programme published in July 2009 “Africa in Finnish Development Policy” constitutes the strategic framework for strengthening the bilateral partnership between Finland and Africa through development policy means. The framework programme is based on the Finnish Government’s Development Policy Programme and steers its practical implementation.

The most important goal of Finnish development policy in Africa is the eradication of poverty and promotion of ecologically, economically and

socially sustainable development in line with the UN Millennium Development Goals, adopted in 2000. The role of the private sector and trade as the engine for economic development is the focus of increasing emphasis.

As a member state of the EU, Finland is committed to the decision of the European Council of 2005 to achieve the minimum objective in development funding, 0.51 per cent of gross national income (GNI) by 2010 and 0.7 per cent by 2015. The goal is to allocate at least 50 per cent of the increase in funding to Africa.

The diversity of Africa creates a challenging point of departure for Finnish development policy and cooperation. According to the Development Policy Programme, Finnish development policy is implemented bilaterally, multilaterally, at the EU level, in cooperation with non-governmental organisations and the private sector, as well as through humanitarian aid. Finland channels its development cooperation into fields in which the potential for creating Finnish added value and exploiting Finnish expertise and experience in supporting the development programmes of the partner countries is strong.

Approximately 50 per cent of Finnish bilateral development cooperation is allocated to Africa. In the long-term partner countries in Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania) Finland is committed to long-term cooperation based on partner countries own development plans, strong ownership and leadership. Through the means of development policy, Finland also supports Sudan and Somalia, countries that are recovering from violent crises. Wide-ranging development cooperation with South Africa continues until 2010, after which the focus will be shifted to using partnership instruments as well as regional cooperation and tripartite cooperation on the African continent. The cooperation with Namibia is also going through a process of change, a transition period having been implemented from 2004 to 2007. In West Africa and in the Central African Republic, new regional cooperation projects are started. In southern Africa, there are also several regional cooperation projects.

The instruments of bilateral cooperation are project cooperation, programme cooperation, budget support, funds for local cooperation,

institutional cooperation, and especially for the private sector and Aid for Trade, Finnfund, Finnpartnership - Finnish business partnership programme and interest subsidies. The decision on which cooperation instrument will be used is made on a case-by-case basis, taking into consideration the objectives of the cooperation initiatives, the operational methods of the partner, and the operating environment in the partner country, etc., with the objective to ensure effective operations.

Multilateral cooperation plays a major role in Finnish development policy and cooperation. In 2008, approximately 40 per cent of Finnish development cooperation was channelled through multilateral organisations and through the EU. A considerable part of these funds are allocated to Africa. The most important cooperation partners within the UN system in Africa include the UNDP, UNEP, UNICEF, UNFPA and WHO. Of the international financing institutions, the World Bank Group and the African Development Bank Group are the most important Finnish cooperation partners in Africa.

The EU-ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement is a legally binding basis for the cooperation between the EU and African countries. The implementation of the Agreement is financed outside the EU budget through the European Development Fund EDF. Finland participates in financing the EDF, and emphasises at the same time that it should be included in the budget of the EU.

Finnish civil society, with its different actors, complements Finnish public development cooperation in Africa. The development cooperation channelled to Africa through the non-governmental organisations equates to approximately one quarter of Finland's bilateral country- and region-specific cooperation in Africa. About half of all NGO projects are targeted at Africa. Finland's long-term African partner countries are the focus of emphasis in development cooperation of NGOs, as about one third of the projects are targeted at long-term partner countries. Tanzania, Ethiopia and Kenya, in particular, stand out in terms of Finnish cooperation.

Finnish objectives

- **Bilateral development cooperation and the development policy dialogue constitute the central content of Finnish bilateral relations with Africa.**
- **Finland exerts influence on the development cooperation conducted by the EU Commission within the framework of the Cotonou Agreement at the country level, in the management committee of the European Development Fund (the EDF committee) and in the negotiation rounds related to the renewal of the Cotonou Agreement.**
- **Finland influences the activities of multilateral organisations by participating in the work of executive boards in accordance with the priorities laid down in the Development Policy Programme.**

4.3 Trade and Economic Relations

Trade is a key question for Africa's development. The economic structure of African countries is narrow and the domestic and regional markets are limited. The continent's share of world trade is approximately two per cent. African countries produce mostly unprocessed raw materials. Exports to Africa from other EU countries and from Finland consist mostly of machinery and equipment. Africa has not attracted much investments from Finland.

Before the outbreak of the global economic crisis, the development of the African economies was positive. The real growth rate was the fastest in 30 years and it had continued for decades. It is expected that the African economy will start to grow again with the recovery of the global economy. It is important that the African economy is strengthened, diversified and that it is integrated into the world economy. This is important for Africa's own development as well as for world economy, and for the economy of the EU and Finland.

Finland participates actively in international cooperation by exerting influence on the contents of the positions of the EU and by supporting Africa's economic development within the framework of the WTO and

the OECD. Aid for Trade issues are on the agenda in the WTO negotiations, in the UN system and within the international finance institutions.

The Cotonou Agreement concluded in the year 2000 between the EU and African, Caribbean and Pacific States (the ACP countries) constitutes the basis of the economic cooperation between the EU and Africa. The Agreement is compatible with the trade arrangements that the ACP countries have with the World Trade Organisation WTO. The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are a part of the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The purpose of the agreements is to strengthen the economic growth and production capacity of the countries and to promote the structural reform by broadening the markets, improving investment conditions and the operational conditions of the private sector.

Through the Economic Partnership Agreements the countries in Africa are also supported to develop their trading capacity. In addition to supporting the development of trade policy and foreign trade, the aid also includes support to the economic infrastructure and to production capacity. Finland supports developing trading capacity in African countries through development cooperation funds in the implementation of the economic partnership agreements in accordance with the Joint Africa-EU Strategy. The Finnish starting point is the EU strategy "Trade and development" adopted in 2007. Finland supports the development of infrastructure, for instance, by funding the EU-Africa Infrastructure Trust Fund of the EU-Africa Partnership on Infrastructure.

Trade development in Africa also benefits Finnish consumers and companies. Open foreign trade supports the functioning of the markets, increases competition, and the supply of goods. Cooperation that supports trade promotes the role of Finnish know-how and added value in Africa. Finland has internationally competitive know-how in many fields. On the African markets there is demand for machines, equipment and technological know-how, which belongs to the main sectors of Finnish export trade.

Export promotion and internationalization (EPI) for Finnish companies is one of the most important tasks of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The

Ministry for Foreign Affairs with its diplomatic missions monitors and promotes Finnish economic interests in Africa. The geographically expansive network of diplomatic missions in Africa provides companies with public services in relation to the promotion of export and internationalization together with other EPI actors. The services that the Foreign Ministry provides are influencing the external operational environment, promotion and information services. Through EPI activities Finnish companies are made known in Africa as experts on high technology.

The competitiveness of the companies operating in Finland is based on, apart from exports, also on smoothly functioning imports. The Finnish export industry does not base its production solely on raw materials, components and services from domestic sources, but needs, to be able to maintain its competitiveness, a possibility to acquire the most advantageous and appropriate factors of production. The objectives of Finnish import policy and in particular of facilitating imports from developing countries have been recorded in the Finnish Development Policy Programme of 2007 and in the Trade Policy Programme of 2005. The most important forum for the trade liberalization and opening of the import system are the negotiation rounds within the WTO and the customs concessions that EU unilaterally grants developing countries (Generalised System of Preferences, GSP). Within the framework of the Everything But Arms system (EBA), products from the least developed countries are granted custom free entry to the EU markets, with the exception of weapons, ammunitions, bananas, sugar and rice.

Also the possibility of a tripartite cooperation is kept in mind with such Finnish trade partner countries as China and India, which to a growing extent have activities and projects in Africa.

Finnish objectives

- **In the WTO Doha round negotiations an end result is sought which takes into account especially the specific needs of the poorest countries and promotes the integration of African countries into the international trade system.**
- **The objective of Finland is to achieve comprehensive EPAs that support the comprehensive development of ACP countries, for instance, through economic and regional integration.**

- Development cooperation supporting trade development (Aid for Trade) is important for the strengthening of trade capacity of African countries.
- Finland endeavours to increase trade with Africa and to diversify its structure. Promotion of export and internationalization of Finnish companies is among the means to achieve this goal.

4.4 Cooperation Structures of the European Union and Africa

As has already been mentioned, development cooperation, trade, and the political dialogue between the EU and African countries are regulated in the so called *Cotonou Agreement*, covering 78 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. It is a legally binding instrument under international law defining the partnership between the EU and the ACP countries. All Sub-Saharan African countries participate in the Agreement, even though South Africa holds a particular position with regard to the Agreement, with a part of the agreement not being applicable to it. The Agreement has its own institutional structure and the European Development Fund acts as the financing mechanism for the development cooperation within the framework of the Agreement.

With the *Joint Africa-EU Strategy* adopted in December 2007 at the Lisbon EU-Africa Summit, the relations between the EU and Africa have been raised to a more political and strategic level. The fundamental idea of the Joint Strategy is to treat Africa as one, without a distinction between Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa.

In the Joint Strategy four strategic priorities have been identified: peace and security, good governance and human rights, trade and regional integration and key development issues. The Strategy's Action Plan for the years 2008 to 2010 is built around eight thematic partnerships. Finland participates in four of them: peace and security, democratic governance and human rights, climate change and science, information society and space.

With the Joint Strategy, in particular EU's political dialogue with the African Union has intensified and become institutionalized. The dia-

logue is conducted in biannual ministerial meetings between the EU and the AU, in meetings between the two Commissions, and in joint meetings between the Political and Security Committee of the EU and the Peace and Security Council of the AU. The aim is on the one hand to seek common positions on current global issues, as, for instance, climate change, and on the other hand to coordinate the reactions of the AU and the EU on current African crises and conflicts. In the joint meeting in October 2009 between the Political and Security Committee and the AU Peace and Security Council, the main topics were Somalia and Sudan.

An indication of closer relations between the EU and the AU is also the establishment in 2008 of an EU Commission Delegation in Addis Ababa, whose head also acts as Special Representative (EUSR) of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Such a double-hatted representation model served already before the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon the coherence of the external relations of the EU in a manner that Finland supports. The personnel of the EU delegation is growing rapidly and Finland is examining possibilities to assign also Finnish experts there.

There are also many challenges in the implementation of the Joint Strategy. Its impact on the bilateral development cooperation of EU member states has been limited. On the AU side, the implementation has focused heavily on the AU Commission.

The next EU-Africa Summit will be organized 2010. EU-Africa summits are held in principle every three years. However, the previous summit was delayed due to disagreements regarding the participation of the president of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe. Finland considers the summit process to be valuable in itself and therefore stresses the importance of organizing the summits regularly.

Finnish objectives

- **The Cotonou Agreement constitutes the main framework for the practical cooperation between the EU and the Sub-Saharan African countries. Finland considers it important that synergies between the Cotonou Agreement and the Joint Africa-EU Strategy are enhanced. They should form a whole, where a strategic approach is strengthened in accordance with the partnership thinking.**

- Both the member countries of the EU and of the AU must further strengthen their commitment to the Joint Africa-EU Strategy.
- Finland contributes to the implementation of the Joint Strategy by concentrating on certain cooperation areas. Finnish priorities are especially supporting AU peace mediation capacity and issues related to the information society.
- Finland explores the possibilities to assign Finnish experts to the EU representation to the AU, e.g. in the field of peace and security.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Africa's strategic significance has increased. Africa's challenges and possibilities have an increasing impact on other continents – and vice versa. In particular, Europe and Africa depend on each other because of their geographic closeness. Africa's stability and welfare have an impact on European, and also Finnish, security. The crises and the poverty in Africa can be seen in Europe e.g. as increasing immigration pressure and as a growing threat of terrorism. A good economic growth on one continent benefits the other. Global problems, such as climate change, also have an impact on Africa, even though the continent only has a small share in the emergence of these problems. When looking for solutions, everyone, also Africa, needs to be on board.

When speaking about the state of Africa, one must not generalize, because the situations vary considerably from one country and one region to the other. Still, it is fair to say that the continent does have great challenges. On the one hand, they are connected with crises and conflicts and with shortcomings regarding democracy, rule of law and human rights as well as with corruption. On the other hand, they are related to poverty, ecology, and population growth. The problems are closely intertwined and therefore they have to be considered in a broad perspective. In the same manner *answers must be sought through a comprehensive policy* where both security and development are taken into account.

Finland aims at developing its Africa policy in a more integrated direction than before. All segments in foreign policy, i.e. foreign and security policy, development policy and development cooperation as well as trade policy should be used as instruments, and they have to *serve the same foreign policy goals*. Also, there has to be more consistency between the activities on the different levels, i.e. in the bilateral relations, when influencing the EU policy and in the multilateral organisations. On all these levels, Finland also advances a more close, versatile and equal dialogue with Africa.

There is a particular need to consider how Finland could *participate in promoting peace and security in Africa more actively* than before. Finland possesses considerable know-how e.g. in the field of peace mediation. It is therefore appropriate to consider, inter alia, how funding in the future could be allocated more flexibly, and also from other than development cooperation funds, for peace mediation and comprehensive crisis management. Finland needs to be ready to support peace mediation efforts financially and through human resources. Further, the possibility to offer Finland as the venue for meetings of different peace processes should be kept open. Also the longstanding Finnish cooperation in development cooperation in Africa can be used to advance peace and security.

Simultaneously, issues related to peace and security will be raised even more clearly than before when *influencing EU policy* and actions in Africa. The same goes for democracy, rule of law and human rights. The EU is a central and influential partner to Africa. Finland will be active in order to strengthen the cooperation structure between Europe and Africa, to take effective use of existing mechanisms and to take into account the interdependence between peace and security. Particular attention is paid to EU efforts in the field of comprehensive crisis management in Africa and to crisis prevention and post-crisis recovery. Finland will develop its participation in particular through the EU.

Peace and development are two sides of the same coin. In Finnish relations with Africa *development policy and development cooperation* will also in the future have a very central role. The most important goal is the elimination of poverty and the promotion of an ecologically, economi-

cally and socially sustainable development in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals. The aim is to allocate at least half of the increase in the development cooperation funds to Africa. Finland will also influence actively the development policy dialogue and development cooperation between the EU and Africa and promote consistent EU actions between the different policy segments, inter alia, between peace and stability, development and trade.

Economic growth is one of the prerequisites for African development, with trade in its center. Finland also takes African issues into consideration in an integrated way in *trade policy*, regardless of whether the question is about multilateral organisations, the EU and its trade and economic relations with Africa or the bilateral policy where we support the development of Africa's own trade capacity and promote Finnish trade and economic relations with Africa.

The EU also needs to intensify its dialogue on Africa policy with the emerging economic powers, including on development cooperation. In the dialogue also human rights, democracy, good governance and questions related to peace and security should be raised. The initiative by the EU Commission on a trilateral cooperation and trilogue on the axis EU-China-Africa is a step in the right direction.

Also in *multilateral contexts* questions related to Africa will be kept in the forefront and Africa's own participation in multilateral cooperation will be facilitated. It is necessary to strive for a more close dialogue with Africa on all global issues, including on climate change, arms control, disarmament and human rights. Finland is well qualified to act as a bridge builder, e.g. within the UN, where cooperation often is rendered more difficult by entrenched positions of the regional groups. The role of the UN as the promoter of peace and security in Africa is supported. Finland advances the recommendations contained in UN Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820 and supports the International Criminal Court ICC. Finland supports a stronger representation of the African continent in the UN Security Council, when it is being reformed. Regarding the so called G-groups, Finland aims at influencing through the EU in such a way that Africa is taken into account sufficiently in G8 and in G20.

Promoting Africa's own integration is one of the most important goals of Finland. This concerns both economic and political integration. Finland supports the capacity, in particular, of the AU but also of other regional organisations to solve different political and military conflicts and crises. It is also in Finland's interests that Africa takes more responsibility for its own matters. Finland influences actively the preparations and content of the meetings between the EU and the AU and also activates further the bilateral relations and cooperation with the AU and with other regional organisations.

The challenges and possibilities of Africa are broad and to a growing extent also in Finland they concern other ministries and authorities as well. The Ministry of Employment and the Economy has recently elaborated its own development policy strategy. The possibilities that Africa provides in the fields of trade and investment are considerable. In the global climate change negotiations, where the Finnish participation is coordinated by the Ministry of the Environment, the situation of Africa is an important theme. Also within the competence of the Ministry of Defence the African dimension has been more present than before, e.g. when Finland chaired the Nordic defence cooperation in 2009. Immigration issues fall within the competence of the Ministry of the Interior and there Africa is a particularly important region. The list could be continued and it witnesses of the need for a well integrated policy. Therefore, in the near future, *a comprehensive Africa programme covering all administrative branches* should be elaborated, e.g. in the shape of a decision-in-principle by the Government.

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