

## Handel zwischen EU und Westafrika (EPA)

### GRUPPENPUZZLE

Als eine Form der Gruppenarbeit dient das Gruppenpuzzle der arbeitsteiligen Analyse eines Konflikts oder einer Frage. Es beinhaltet den gegenseitigen Austausch und die Diskussion unterschiedlichen Expertenwissens. Die Ausbildung verschiedener Expert\_innengruppen ermöglicht es, sich intensiv mit einer Frage oder einem Konflikt zu beschäftigen und wechselseitig von den Ergebnissen zu profitieren.

**Vorgehen:** Zunächst wird eine Frage oder ein Konflikt auf Basis ausgewählter Materialien in einer *Stammgruppe* bearbeitet. In dieser werden verschiedene Fragen (oder politische Interessen)

aufgeteilt. Anschließend treffen sich Forscher\_innen zu bestimmten Fragen (oder Interessenvertreter\_innen) aus den verschiedenen Stammgruppen in entsprechenden *Expert\_innengruppen*. In diesen werden die spezifischen Forschungsfragen geklärt (oder Interessen ausgearbeitet und begründet). Anschließend gehen alle Expert\_innen zurück in die ursprünglichen *Stammgruppen*. Dort werden die Ergebnisse aus den *Expert\_innengruppen* vorgestellt, diskutiert und in die Bearbeitung der Ausgangsfrage – beziehungsweise weiterer Fragen – einbezogen.

Angeschlossen an das Gruppenpuzzle ist eine Reflexionsphase, in welcher die Ergebnisse sowie die Vorgehensweise ausgewertet und diskutiert werden.

### ARBEITSVORSCHLÄGE

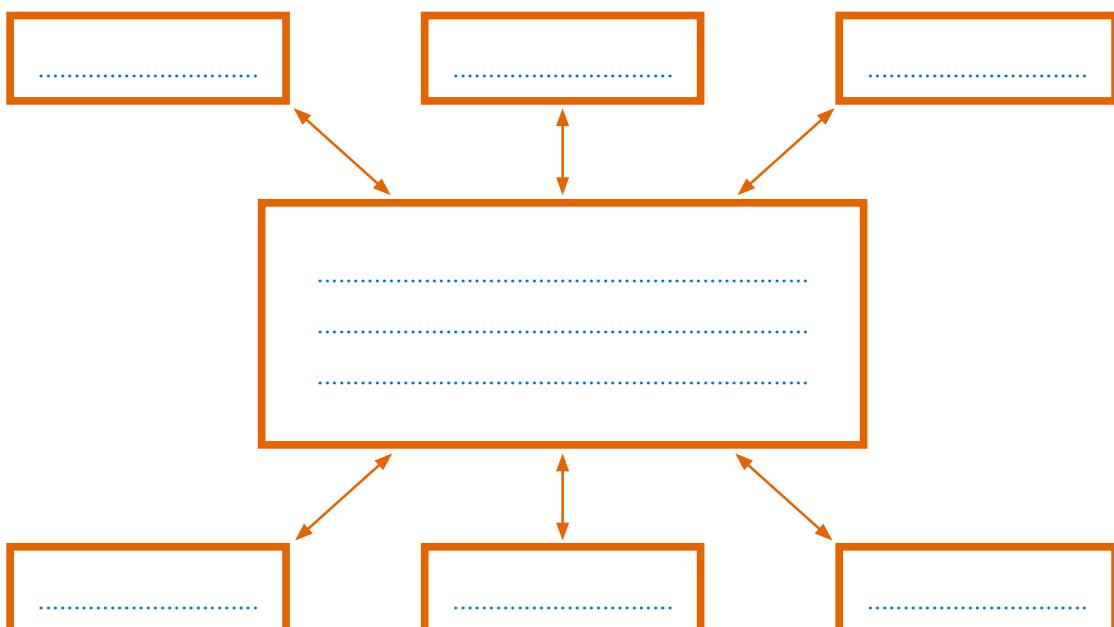
#### Phase 1: Problemdefinition in Stammgruppen

- Bilden Sie Gruppen von sechs oder sieben Personen.
- Lesen Sie M1 und erstellen Sie gemeinsam eine Mindmap, in der Sie im Zentrum das

politische Problem beschreiben und die beteiligten Akteure sammeln (siehe Abbildung).

- Entwickeln Sie einen geeigneten Lösungsvorschlag für das beschriebene Problem.
- Stellen Sie die Mindmaps und die Vorschläge aus den einzelnen Gruppen im Plenum vor.

### REQUISITEN MINDMAP



### M1 Potential Argument about Milk Powder on EU-Africa Summit

- 1 The secretaries of trade of the West-African ECOWAS states are rumored to plan on declaring the negotiations with the EU on the EU-Africa summit concerning a further opening of trade to have failed. The ministers are supported by the network of West-African farmers and agricultural producers (Roppa).
- 2 One central issue is European milk powder, which is cheaply offered on African markets. The prices are so low due to annual subsidies of several billion Euros for the European agriculture.
- 3 Often the pattern of trade relations is the same. »In August 2009, imported milk powder was sold for 51 Eurocent per liter in Cameroon«, the relief organization Misereor explains. In contrast, local producers from Cameroon had to demand 60 Cent in order to afford a living from sales of milk.
- 4 During the past years, the export of milk powder from the EU to African states strongly increased.
- 5 Furthermore, a trend exists, where European dairies intensively invest in West-African states. According to the opinion of »Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft« (AbL), dairies like Arla do not represent the interests of local farmers, their interest rather focuses on a low price of raw material for milk. Therefore, the European milk crisis is exported due to excessive amounts of milk.
- 6 The EU is interested in fixing this situation for the future, as represented by the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA's) between the EU and Africa. Those free trade agreements normally implicate that customs may not be raised.
- 7 The European federation of dairies EUCOLAIT supports the EU's plans to export milk powder. The EU would pursue the right objective, when they pressed for open markets and low customs. »Basically, we welcome the EPA agreements«, a spokesman uttered. Both sides had to make concessions. ■ Source: Text by Attac, inspired by an article in die tageszeitung from November 28th, 2010



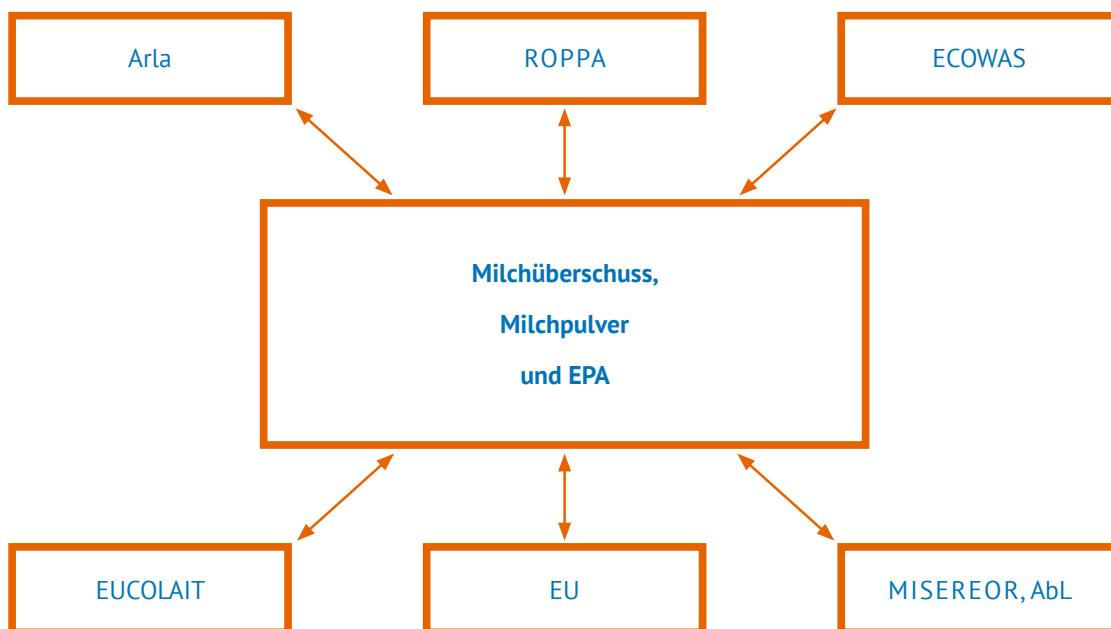
Protest gegen EPAs beim G8-Gipfel 2007 in Heiligendamm  
Foto: Attac

### ARBEITSVORSCHLÄGE

#### Phase 2: Interessengruppen

- Teilen Sie die Akteure der vorausgefüllten Mindmap (siehe Abbildung) in ihrer Stammgruppe untereinander auf. Bilden Sie anschließend mit Personen anderer Stammgruppen Interessengruppen, in denen sich die jeweiligen Akteure treffen (alle Vertreter\_innen der EU etc.).
- Lesen Sie in Ihrer Interessengruppe den Text Ihres Akteurs (M2 – M7). Sammeln Sie Ihre

grundlegenden Interessen: Soll ein EPA abgeschlossen werden; sollen Zölle und Importquoten für Milchprodukte darin verboten werden?  
 - Bereiten Sie sich darauf vor, diese Interessen auf einem Wirtschaftsgipfel zu vertreten, zu dem alle sechs Akteure eingeladen sind. Formulieren Sie dazu geeignete Argumente, die Ihre Interessen stützen, und überlegen Sie, wie Sie Ihre Interessen durchsetzen können.



#### Phase 3: Wirtschaftsgipfel in den Stammgruppen

- Gehen Sie in Ihre Stammgruppen. Dort nehmen Sie an einem Wirtschaftsgipfel teil, auf welchem Sie die Interessen Ihres Akteurs vertreten. Verhandeln Sie mit den anderen Akteuren über die Frage: »Soll ein EPA zwischen EU und ECOWAS abgeschlossen werden, in dem Zölle und Importquoten für Milch ausgeschlossen werden?«
- Zuerst stellen sich alle Akteure mit einem kurzen Statement vor. Beginnen Sie anschließend mit den Verhandlungen. Es wird so lange verhandelt, bis ein Ergebnis vorliegt, dem alle beteiligten Akteure zustimmen.

#### Phase 4: Plenum

- Stellen Sie Ihr Verhandlungsergebnis kurz dem Plenum vor: Wer hat sich warum durchgesetzt, wer hat warum auf was verzichtet, welche Argumente waren wichtig und gibt es Gewinner und Verlierer?
- Diskutieren Sie die Ergebnisse der Stammgruppen im Plenum. Für wie realistisch halten Sie die Ergebnisse?

#### Phase 5: Wie sind die Verhandlungen in der Realität gelaufen?

Lesen Sie M8 und beschreiben Sie, was die dargestellte Entwicklung für Ihren Akteur aus der Simulation bedeutet. Nehmen Sie Stellung zur realen Entwicklung der Verhandlungen.

**M2 Economic Community of West African States ECOWAS:  
EPA is a tool which enables trade to support the development**

1 The main objective of the West Africa – European Union EPA is the establishment of a free trade area between Europe and West Africa in accordance with [...] the rules of the WTO], through 5 the gradual removal of trade restrictions between the two trade partners. However, the objectives of the EPA go beyond a conventional free trade agreement. The EPA is designed as a tool which enables trade to support the development. [...]

10 The EPA Development Programme (EPADP) is the main instrument agreed on by the EU and West Africa for providing concrete content for the development cooperation under the EPA. [...] The sum of financial support from the EU for the 15 EPADP for the period from 2010 to 2015 amounts to 6.5 billion euro. [...]

15 The structure of the offer for access to West African markets, the schedule for dismantling and other envisaged measures make it possible to reduce the adverse effects of the agreement. [...] Products considered very sensitive by the region, such as agricultural produce, have been excluded from liberalisation—60 of the 75 percent of products to be liberalised involve input, raw materials 20 or capital goods, some of which already had a 0 percent customs duty attached to them, they are therefore already liberalised indeed. [...]

. With a view to safeguarding preferential access to the EU market and avoiding disturbances in 25 their trade [...], Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana [...] concluded interim EPAs. The EU and West Africa agreed that the interim agreements be replaced with a regional agreement as soon as one is signed. [...] If a regional EPA is not concluded 30 and Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana ratify interim EPAs concluded with the EU, 5 trade regimes with the EU will operate at the same time, in the region. [...] Such a situation would have adverse effects 35 on the ECOWAS Free Trade Area and its Customs Union. The ECOWAS Common External Tariff would be overshadowed, given that products coming from the EU could sidestep the borders of ECOWAS in favour of market openings in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire under the EPA. ■ Source: [www.epa.ecowas.int/faqs](http://www.epa.ecowas.int/faqs) (15.04.2016)

*Established 1975 via the treaty of Lagos, ECOWAS is a 15-member regional group with a mandate of promoting economic integration in all fields of activity of the constituting countries. ECOWAS was set up to foster the ideal of collective self-sufficiency for its member states. As a trading union, it is also meant to create a single, large trading bloc through economic cooperation, although the member states are very different and have different interests too.*

**M3 Network of West African Farmer Organizations (ROPPA):  
EPA Threatens West Africa's Agriculture**

1 [...] The EPA actually threatens West Africa's main source of growth: agriculture. Heavily subsidised European products (over CFA 270 billion, or roughly € 414 million) will destabilise West African agriculture, leading to lower relative prices, particularly for stockbreeders and milk producers. In effect, the EPA legalises dumping by introducing these heavily subsidised products, which will stifle regional production, reduce the profitability 10 of numerous agricultural products and contribute to an unprecedented deterioration of living conditions, especially amongst the most vulnerable—these being stockbreeders and women who sell milk.

15 Not only will the EPA shatter the shield of resilience, but it will also prompt massive rural–urban migration, which, because of a lack of opportu-

nity, will, in turn, result in illegal immigration to Europe. [...] 20 By implicitly subsidising European products, the EPA creates a trade diversion benefiting Europe and discourages the production and consumption of local products in favour of European imports. The agreement reinforces the division of labour in West Africa, which provides raw materials to European industries, yet does not give West Africa access to the European market, which is, in fact, protected by technical barriers to trade. [...] 25 Furthermore, the West African states will suffer tax losses as a result of the EPA, thereby rendering them less able to face development challenges. [...] The illusion that Europe is funding the EPA Development Programme (PAPED) has been

- 35 created for West Africa's benefit; in reality, the  
. subsidies on European products to destabilise  
. markets, in particular those of agriculture, and  
. representing over € 414 million a year, will cause  
. more damage than the amount budgeted to fund  
the PAPED. ■ Source: Sylla, K., Cissoko, M., Cisse, M.L. 2014. *The EPA: A political agreement detrimental to economic development and cooperation between Europe and Africa*. GREAT insights Magazine, Volume 3, Issue 9. October/November 2014

*Farmers of 13 West African countries founded ROPPA as an agricultural lobby in 2000. About 26 percent of their 26 million members are women. Their aims are firstly to support their members by technical and economic services and secondly to do lobbying for the political support of a sustainable development of agricultural family enterprises.*

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#### M4 EU: An Offensive Strategy for Exporting Agri-Food Products

- 1 [...] I am firmly convinced that we must have  
. an offensive strategy for promoting and exporting  
. agri-food products.  
5 This does not mean that we should abandon all  
. defensive elements in our strategy. No one is talk-  
. ing about knocking down our border protection  
. with a sledgehammer. Rather, I'm saying that we  
. cannot mould our entire strategy around defence.  
. Instead of aiming not to lose, we must aim to win.  
10 I believe this for four reasons.  
My first reason is that there is only one direc-  
. tion in which import tariffs will move in future—  
. sooner or later—and that is downwards.  
15 My second reason for recommending an offen-  
. sive strategy is that new export opportunities are  
. out there—for those who will go and take hold of  
. them. [...]  
However, around the world, many obstacles  
. stand between us and emerging export opportuni-  
ties. This is my third reason for backing.  
20 In some cases, the main problem is high tariffs.  
. But as you know, more generally, tariffs are just  
. one issue among many. In many target markets,  
. there are also long, long lists of non-tariff barri-  
25 ers—some of which block exports from our side  
. altogether. [...]

- . My fourth and final argument in favour of an  
. offensive strategy is that many of our competitors  
. have already set off down this road. I'm thinking,  
30 for example, of the US—which is busy setting up  
. bilateral trade deals around the world.  
. There will be a high price to pay if we fall behind.  
. If I were the director of a European agri-food ex-  
. port company, I would not want to find myself  
35 competing against US rivals in markets where they  
. had preferential access and I did not! ■ Source: Mariann  
Fischer Boel, Member of the European Commission responsible for agriculture and rural development: *Going on the offensive: a new approach to EU agri-food exports*. Consultation on EU Agri-Food Export Interests. Seminar organised by Directorate General for Agriculture and Rural Development, Brussels, 25 June 2007. [http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/events/foodexport2007/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/events/foodexport2007/index_en.htm) (15.04.16)

*The currently 28 EU-commissioners make up the European Commission. It is supposed to be the executive power in the EU and is roughly comparable to the government of a state. The EU-commissioners are nominated by the member states and confirmed by the European Parliament. During their five years lasting mandate, they are supposed to act independently and represent the common interest of the EU.*

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#### M5 Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL) and MISEREOR: Do not Export EU Milk Crisis to Africa

- 1 The project of the European dairy cooperative Arla  
. Foods to invest in the Nigerian dairy economy  
. on a grand scale endangers the preservation and  
. much-needed expansion of an independent milk  
5 economy. On Friday, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft  
. bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL) and the associa-  
. tion for developmental work, Misereor criticized  
. the danger that comes with such investments,  
. namely interfering or even destroying Nigerian  
10 projects for the fight against hunger.  
. In the past years, the exports of milk powder  
. from the EU to African states south of the Sa-

. hara rose about 20 percent. Moreover, there is a  
. recognizable trend of European dairies to inten-  
15 sively invest in West African states such as Nige-  
. ria, Ghana or Burkina Faso. »From Burkina Faso  
. we know of European dairies investing there and  
. using cheap milk powder for their production«,  
. [...] MISEREOR says. »Local small-scale dairies  
20 cannot compete with the cheaper products, im-  
. portant rural value chains get destroyed and local  
. milk producers lose their key markets. Therefore  
. many families lose their income and their liveli-  
. hood [...]«  
25 »The dairies do not represent the interests of  
. the farmers, but are rather interested in a low raw  
. material price for milk«, AbL says. »They can  
. compete in the international competition around  
. new markets at the expense of farmers. It is hard to  
30 believe that dairies like Arla have other interests in  
. West African countries. Instead of exporting the  
. European milk crisis, due to excessive amounts of  
. milk, we demand our dairies to reward producers,  
. who do not expand their milk production, with a  
35 bonus system. [...]«

. The German and European politics would have  
. to introduce mechanisms which arrange the milk  
. production according to the respective demand of  
. the countries in order to support a strengthening  
40 of West African economies and their employment  
. markets. ■ Source: AbL and MISEREOR Press Release from March 3rd, 2016,  
translated into English by Attac

*According to the principle of help for self-help, the catholic relief organization MISEREOR supported about 100.000 projects in Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America since their founding in 1958. The aim of MISEREOR is to help the poorest of the poor, and to support people of every religion, culture or color of skin with local partners collectively.*

*The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL) consists of a cooperation of mostly small and middle-scale agricultural companies and consumers as well. One aim is to raise awareness for the social question in agriculture. Furthermore, projects in the field of quality production and regional marketing of agricultural products are supported.*

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## M6 Industrial Dairy Arla: Balance Between Imports and Local Production

1 The European dairy association Arla Foods will  
. invest in Nigerian milk production in the future.  
. Arla aims to integrate their knowledge of agricul-  
. ture and dairying in order to improve the quality  
5 of local raw milk. This is supposed to lead to a  
. sustainable development and growth of the dairy  
. sector in Nigeria. [...]  
6 The Nigerian government welcomes compa-  
. nies like Arla Foods for taking responsibility and  
10 helping to balance the market between imported  
. and regionally produced milk products.  
7 The next step for Arla would be a declaration  
. of intent. »The Milky Way to Development« is  
. promoted by the Non-Governmental Organiza-  
15 tion (NGO) CARE and focuses the creation of  
. a social, ecological and economically sustainable  
. milk market in West Africa.  
16 During the past year, Arla analyzed the Nige-  
. rian market in order to find out which influence

20 the growing business of Arla has on the local dairy  
. sector and in how far human rights of local milk  
. farmers are negatively influenced. Arla concluded  
. the existence of several constraints inside the dairy  
. sector, as well as the risk of a constant underdevel-  
25 opment of the Nigerian milk market caused by the  
. presence of Arla. In order to avoid these possible  
. negative influences in the long run, Arla decided  
. to get involved with the development of a local  
. milk value-creation chain. ■ Source: Arla Foods Deutschland,  
Press Release from April 20th, 2015, translated into English by Attac

*Arla Foods is a European dairy cooperative with about 12.650 shareholders. The company is one of the largest dairies in the world, employing about 20.000 workers and selling its products to more than 100 countries. With production facilities in twelve countries and sales offices in 35 countries, Arla is the third largest dairy in Germany.*

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**M7 European Dairy Confederation EUCOLAIT:  
Strong Demand for Milk Powder in Africa**

1 Milk powders are the most important traded dairy commodity. The Middle East and North Africa are important for the EU. But unsubsidised EU whole milk powders exports are not competitive in the lower price environment.

2 The growth of demand for whole milk powders is concentrated in developing markets, strongest in Africa, followed by Asia and Latin America. The top whole milk powders markets for the EU in 10 2006 were Algeria, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Dominican Republic, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Angola, Senegal, Sudan and Lebanon.

3 Quota restrictions and growing consumption in the EU are maybe reducing export volumes now, but we need to look at the future. The further reform of the Common Agricultural Policy of the EU and the WTO will determine our export potential. There is a clear demand for EU products on export markets and the risk of stagnation if we focus exclusively on home markets. Globalisation means, we have to stay competitive and innovative. On the top of the EUCOLAIT wish list is the development of a new dairy export policy in the EU. This includes to improve market access (Free Trade Agreements). Improve Market access means to have equal if not better access than our competitors in key markets. Bilateral agreements can work

4 but most successful agreements have a regional focus. Highest priority for EU dairy is for improved market access in Russia, USA and Japan.

5 Amongst other trade blocs the African-Caribbean-Pacific-bloc (ACP) has medium priority. In the ACP we analysed the Countries Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria, Angola, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Kenya & Mauritius, Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Jamaica. The tariffs in this bloc are generally low and the price is sensitive. There is a market for commodities and dairy-related food preparations and a limited opportunity to grow unsubsidised products. ■ Source

(PowerPoint-Presentation, edited): Presentation by the President of Eucolait on their overall wish list and desired strategy from the European Commission in the coming negotiations on Free Trade Agreements. Consultation on EU Agri-Food Export Interests. Seminar organised by Directorate General for Agriculture and Rural Development, Brussels, 25 June 2007. [http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/events/foodexport2007/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/events/foodexport2007/index_en.htm) (15.04.16)

*EUCOLAIT is the European Association of Dairy Trade representing the European wholesalers, exporters and importers of dairy products. EUCOLAIT promotes the interests of the dairy trade at the European Institutions, is a platform for discussion and meetings for European and international dairy trade companies and provides an unparalleled information service for European dairy trade.*

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**M8 Support Through Trade Policy: The Economic Partnership Agreements of the EU and African Regions**

1 The possibilities of European dairies to increase their sales in West Africa are additionally fostered by current developments of trade policies. After 15 years of tough negotiation, the EU has completed the negotiations with the economic community of West African states (ECOWAS) concerning a free-trade agreement between both regions, which is called an economic partnership agreement (EPA). It is supposed to replace the free market access the EU granted without a trade off since the 1970s. The EU argued and they have a point there, that the one-sided preference of certain countries would be incompatible with the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO). By completing mutual free-trade agreements accepted by the WTO, free access to the EU market can be secured but at the expense of ECOWAS states, which have to open their markets for the EU as well. Central to this argument was the question, how many pro-

ducts would be excluded from this liberalization and could therefore still be protected by customs. The agreement now allows the ECOWAS states to keep customs for about a quarter of their products. For which product groups those should be applied, is, at least officially, the ECOWAS states' independent decision. However, they have to come to an agreement amongst each other first. Unlike the East African community, ECOWAS decided, according to tentative agreements, which are only unofficially accessible, only to exclude fresh products like liquid milk or yoghurt from the reduction of customs in the dairy sector. In contrast, the already low customs on milk powder and on enriched skimmed milk powder as well, are supposed to be abolished within a few years. This action makes the local dairies profit, which can buy their »raw material« milk powder for lower prices now. Interestingly enough, the above-

mentioned large-scale European dairies invested  
40 in these local companies in particular. It does not  
seem unlikely, that they use their increased influ-  
ence as regional companies towards governments  
in order to push towards a custom free import of  
milk powder. Hence, they win twice: The parent  
45 companies in Europe improve their access to an  
important key market, while the subsidiary com-  
panies in Africa receive their raw materials for lo-  
wer costs. The losers of the situation are the local  
milk farmers, who could not enforce their long

50 lasting claim for better exterior protection. On  
the contrary: The customs towards the EU, being  
the largest provider already today, are completely  
abolished, which is permanently fixed through the  
EPA. A development such as in East Africa, where  
55 small-scale farmers and nomads were integrated  
into value chains by raising customs on imported  
milk products, is nearly made impossible. ■ Source:  
Germanwatch e.V. (Ed.): Billiges Milchpulver für die Welt Das Auslaufen der  
EU-Milchquote und die Milcherzeugung und -exporte in Deutschland und der EU,  
translated into English by Attac

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**ARBEITSVORSCHLAG**

Bilden Sie Gruppen von vier bis acht Personen und stellen Sie den analysierten Konflikt um das EPA in Form einer Statue dar (siehe Methodenkasten).

- Bearbeiten Sie die Statuen so, dass diejenigen, die sich unwohl fühlen, in eine komfortablere Lage kommen.
- Präsentieren Sie die Statuen (und ihre Veränderungen) im Plenum.
- Diskutieren Sie, welche realen Lösungsmöglichkeiten in den Statuen zu erkennen sind. Wie realistisch sind diese?

**STATUEN-THEATER  
(METHODENBESCHREIBUNG  
FÜR TEILNEHMENDE)**

Ihre Kleingruppe hat die Aufgabe, gemeinsam eine Statue – zum vorgegebenen Thema – zu entwickeln, die anschließend in einer »Ausstellung« in der Gesamtgruppe gezeigt wird. Verständigen Sie sich kurz über das vorgegebene Thema und mögliche Bilder dazu (etwa 5 Minuten).

Der Bau der Statuen verläuft weitgehend stumm. Einigen Sie sich auf eine\_n Bildhauer\_in, welche\_r die anderen im Raum anordnet. Oder verständigen Sie sich in der Gruppe mit Blicken und Gesten auf eine gemeinsame Anordnung. Wichtig sind die Stellung der Körper zueinander, die Körperhaltung und der Gesichtsausdruck. Außerdem können Sie Requisiten (z.B. Stühle oder Trinkflaschen) nutzen.

**Variante: Umbau der Statuen**

Eine Statue, die ein ungelöstes Problem darstellt, kann umgebaut werden. Alle Darsteller\_innen (Teile der Statue) suchen einen Satz, der ihre Situation, ihr Empfinden oder einen Wunsch ausdrückt, und sprechen ihn laut aus (z.B. »Mein Arm schlafft ein« oder »Ich werde hier erdrückt«). Anschließend können alle nacheinander »in Zeitlupe« ihre Position verändern oder es gibt wieder eine\_n Bildhauer\_in, welche\_r den Umbau vornimmt. Es beginnen diejenigen, die sich besonders unwohl fühlen, und die anderen reagieren darauf. Abschließend formulieren alle noch einen Satz, der ihre neue Situation ausdrückt.

**Variante: Aktionsbild**

Entwickeln Sie eine Statue, die Sie im Rahmen einer Protestaktion an einem öffentlichen Ort aufführen könnten. Sie können auch eine »bewegliche Maschine« bauen, das heißt zwei Statuen, die abwechselnd ineinander übergehen.

**Bedenken Sie dabei die folgenden Punkte:**

- Was ist die zentrale Aussage der Aktion?
- Welche Statue passt zu dieser Aussage?
- Wer ist die Zielgruppe?
- Was ist ein geeigneter Ort für die Aktion?
- Werden Requisiten für die Statue gebraucht?