

**Failure of Elision and Elision of Failure
Revealing uneasy encounters with colonial pasts
in contemporary EU external relations policy**

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Ex-empires aid former colonies

France, the UK, Belgium, Spain and Portugal, the countries with the largest colonial empires until the middle of the 20th century, are spending their Official Development Assistance (ODA) largely in countries which were their colonies.

The top 7 countries receiving **French** ODA are Morocco, China, Vietnam, Cote d'Ivoire, Colombia, Senegal and Kenya. Of those, only China, Colombia and Kenya were not French colonies.



Review of European ODA donors (Euractiv May 2015)

Questions

- What conceptual approach to analyse the modalities of EU FP/ER if the focus is on legacy of colonisation?
- What might the focus on colonisation reveal about the ‘distinctiveness of EU FP/ER that’s currently overlooked?

Outline

1. Link between colonisation and the EU 'project'
- 2 (a) EU's Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000-2020).
- 2 (b) A conceptual approach based on Cynthia Weber's use of Judith Butler's 'performativity'
- Reflect on potential and limitations of this approach

The past shapes the present

- Treaty of Rome 1957/8 – (EEC) Part IV, A. 131-136

L'Afrique Occidentale Française L'Afrique Équatoriale Française

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, l'Archipel des Comores, Madagascar et dépendances, la Côte française des Somalis, la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dépendances, les Établissements français de l'Océanie, les Terres australes et antarctiques;

La République autonome du Togo;

Le territoire sous tutelle du Cameroun administré par la France;

Le Congo belge et le Ruanda-Urundi;

La Somalie sous tutelle italienne;

La Nouvelle-Guinée Néerlandaise.

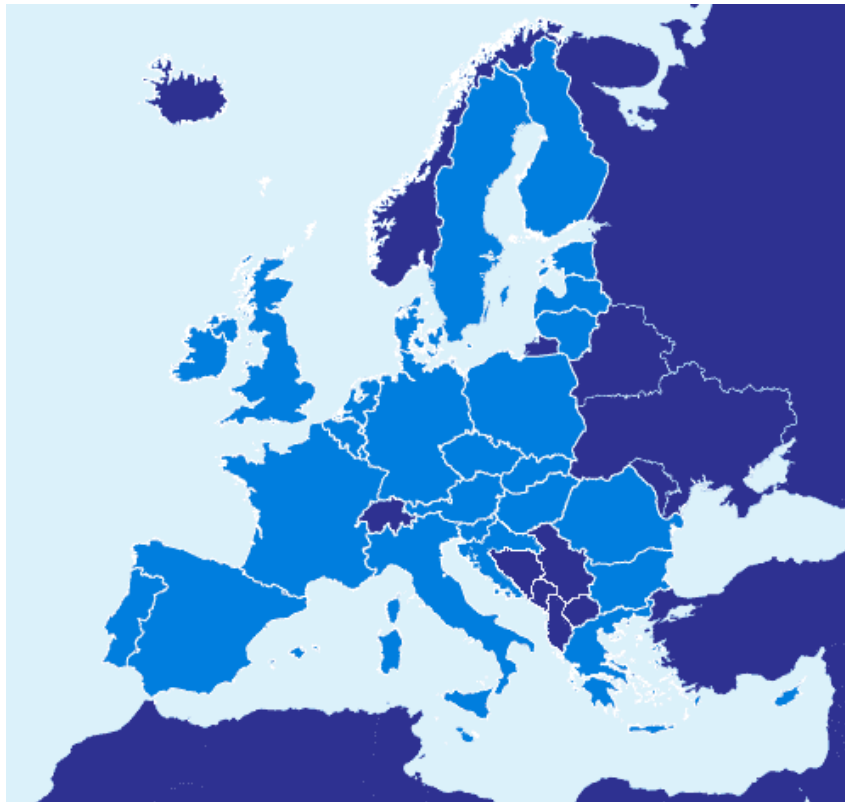
The past shapes the present

- Yaoundé I (1963) and II (1969)
- UK admission in 1973 – Lomé I (1975); Lomé II (1980); Lomé III (1985) and Lomé IV (1990).
- Features
 - Non-reciprocal trade preferences
 - Economic assistance (EDF)
 - Commodity insurance schemes
 - Technical co-operation
 - Institutional frameworks
- EC 1996 Green Paper

The present - Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000-2020)

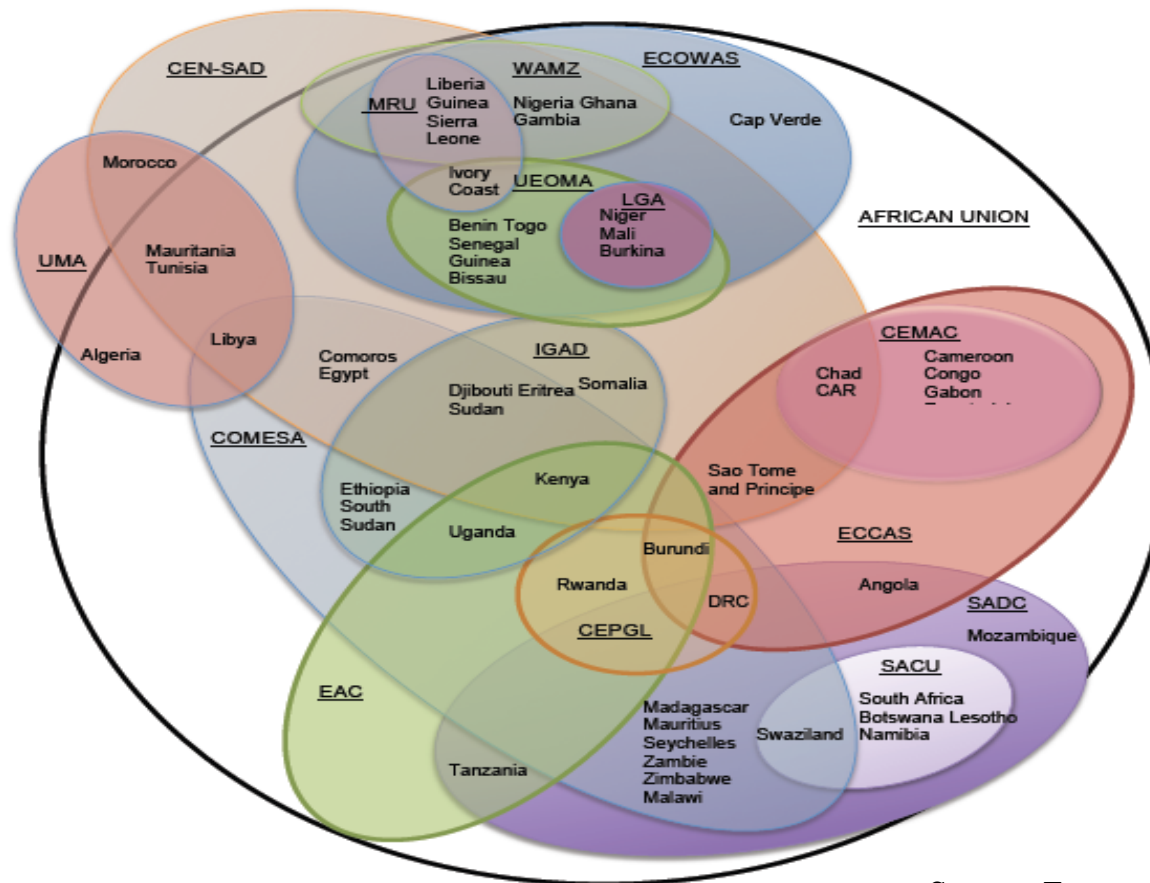
- **Objective** – reducing and eradicating poverty consistent with the objectives of SD and the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy (A.1).
- **Principles** – partnership, aid effectiveness, equality & ownership, participation, mutual accountability(A.2).
- **Trade**, Aid and Political Relations
 - ↳ **Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAS)**

The EU's perception of REOs



Source European Commission website

REOs in Africa



EU 'Thromacy'

Threat

- October 2014 deadline
- LDCs – 'Everything but Arms'
- DgCs – GSP



Diplomacy

- EPA Development Matrix
- Role of ODA
- EDF funding (2014-2020)
 - National level
 - Regional level

EU Budget Support

Purpose - “Better aid and achieving sustainable development results” (Guidelines 2012: 11)

Based on

- *Dialogue*
- **Financial transfers** to the state’s national treasury account
- *Performance assessment*
- *Capacity development*

Three kinds

(i) **Good Governance and Development** contracts; (ii) **Sector reform** contracts and (iii) **State building** (development or reform policy or strategy)

Based on

Eligibility Criteria

- National/sector policies and reforms
- Stable macro-economic framework
- Public financial management
- Transparency and oversight of the budget

Process

- Assessment – pre- (relevance and credibility)
- And during - ongoing monitoring and reporting (of progress)

States' subjectivity, sovereignty and performativity

- 'the state' – discursive production; structuring effects and performativity.
- What of heterosexual assumptions behind gendered readings of the state?
- Cross-dressing = 'thomacy'?
- Andlegacy of colonisation?

Potential of thomacy and performativity

- Implies a non-chronological understanding of **time**
- **Contingent** nature of key concepts e.g. state; ‘failed’ state; good governance; developing country etc.
- Performativity and **co-creation**
- **Continuities** in discourses of civilisation & progress (colonisation) and order and progress (contemporary)
- International governance **instruments** – law, legality, technocratic, bureaucratic and knowledge
- EU – **significance of its values to its wielding of power**
- Discourse more powerful **BECAUSE OF** colonial past

Limits

- Of scope of application to EU foreign policy/ external relations
- Context of current literature on Cotonou
- Method/schmethod
- Definitions of gender, cross-dressing
- Links with colonisation – laws rules
- Resistance and violence

Elision - definition (OED online)

Late 16th century: from late Latin *elisio(n-)*, from Latin *elidere* 'crush out'

- The omission of a sound or syllable when speaking
- The process of joining together or merging things, especially abstract ideas



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